

GLEANINGS FROM OLD S. PAUL'S.

“ In granite rock that will last through time, in height, in mystery, in light and colour, and shadows, and music enshrining mysteries invisible,

THE CATHEDRAL

symbolizes and centres the calm, strong forces of the Kingdom of GOD. Beneath these roofs, among these pillars, the forms of all those energies seem to gather and move restfully like Angels.”

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,
Sermon at Consecration of
Truro Cathedral,
November 3, 1887.



S. GUTHLAC RECEIVING THE TONSURE.

Frontispiece.

GLEANNINGS

FROM

OLD S. PAUL'S.

BY

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ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

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P R E F A C E.

AS the kind and indulgent readers of my little book, Chapters in the History of Old S. Paul's, have been so good as to leave but few copies on the Publisher's shelves, and as that Publisher has himself asked for another and similar work, I venture hopefully to issue these Gleanings from Old S. Paul's, in bright and genial autumn weather—gleaning-time.

Eight-and-twenty years have passed since, to my infinite and never-ceasing delight, I became a Member on the foundation of this venerable Cathedral of S. Paul. Now, as then, every point in its story is full of interest for me.

If the field of its grand History has been reaped already, there are abundant Gleanings to be gathered. Here are a few: some facts about the Minor Canons, of whom I am one;

some talk about the Library; a dry, but short chapter, about the Tonsure of the Clergy; a quaint Poem about the stained-glass Windows; some Gossip from a garrulous old Virger of the days of Queen Elizabeth; an Essay on the Plays acted by the Children of Paul's; some early Drawings of the ancient Cathedral; a paper about Lotteries and Executions, somewhat ghastly; and a quaternion of chapters about Organs, Music, and Musicians, together with some gatherings far too varied to be enumerated here; these form the staple of my little book. I write constantly in the first person, not, I sincerely hope, from egotism, but because that way of writing has a friendly, pleasant savour about it.

Kind Public and good Critics, be as indulgent to this my youngest Child as you were to his elder Brother.

I have hopes (but this is a profound secret) that yet another volume may follow, should I have health and strength to pursue these Recreations of a City Parson.

It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge my obligations to friends who have assisted me.

My best acknowledgments are due—to my old friend, the Rev. W. H. Seggins, for his charming facsimiles of a sketch of two stained-glass windows at S. Paul's, and of a view of the Cathedral in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries; to the Council of that learned Society for permission to copy that rare view, and to the Council of the British Archæological Association for some of the illustrations in Chapter VII.; and especially to my dear Daughter, whose helpful eyes have detected many an error in the proofs which might otherwise have escaped my notice, and whose patient revision of the Index deserves affectionate remembrance.



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*THE COLLEGE OF THE TWELVE MINOR
CANONS IN S. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.*



CHAPTER I.

THE COLLEGE OF THE TWELVE MINOR CANONS IN S. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.*

THE history of an English Cathedral is an integral part of the history of England. Kings have been its nursing fathers and Queens its nursing mothers. Its charters are an important part of the national records. Its foundation, its decay, its restoration, mark epochs in the religious progress of the country. He who would tell the whole story of a cathedral can scarcely pass over without mention any great event of the national history; alike in war and in peace, in time of religious calm and in periods of wild fanatical discord, the gray time-honoured walls of the cathedral have borne their part. It has been the home of religion, the centre of light, the sanctuary where were gathered together the relics of poets, statesmen, warriors, theologians, kings; the last

* From a paper in *The Archaeologia*, xliii., 165-200, in which the Latin text of the *Charter* and *Statutes* of the Minor Canons is for the first time printed.

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resting-place of the best and greatest men that have adorned the nation's annals.

And if this be true, in a greater or less degree, of any cathedral, how specially true is it with regard to that cathedral which, standing in the very heart of the greatest city of modern times, witnesses for God and for the truth by its stately and majestic presence; towering above all other structures, as the religion of which it is the visible embodiment rises above the ordinary cares and thoughts of man. Happily the history of S. Paul's Cathedral has not now to be written. The labours of Sir William Dugdale, of Sir Henry Ellis,* of Archdeacon Hale,† and of the late Dean Milman,‡ have left comparatively little to be gleaned: yet in such a field even gleanings may be precious.

There is, however, within the cathedral itself a body, whose history, so far as I am aware, has yet to be written; I mean the College of the Twelve Minor Canons. Much has been said by the historians just named about the greater Chapter, consisting of the bishop, the dean, and the thirty canons, each canon having his deputy or vicar.§ But this lesser Chapter, a complete corporate body, having a royal charter and a common seal, has been but little noticed, though it has an independent history of its own well worth the telling. I do not, indeed, propose to myself this task in the present chapter. I simply

* *History of S. Paul's Cathedral*, Dugdale, edited by Sir H. Ellis.

† *The Domesday of S. Paul's*, Camden Soc., 1858.

‡ *Annals of S. Paul's Cathedral*, 2nd edit., 1869.

§ Milman, *Annals*, 130, 134.

gather together a few materials which may possibly be of service to some future antiquary.

"The Minor Canons," says Dean Milman,* "were a college of twelve priests, founded in the time of Richard II., and endowed with their own estates. The form of their election was, that they presented two to the chapter, who selected one. They were under the authority and statutes of the cathedral, though holding independent estates." Dugdale, in the *Monasticon*,† gives a somewhat fuller notice. The twelve Minor Canons belonging to the cathedral church of S. Paul were incorporated, he says, "and made a body politic, having a warden and common seal, 18 Ric. II. King Henry IV., in the first year of his reign, confirmed the foundation. In the 23rd Henry VI., the church of S. Gregory was appropriated to their use. Tanner says, they had formerly houses in or adjoining to the precincts of the cathedral, and their common hall was on the north side of the church, near the Pardon Chirch haugh."‡ A more lengthy account is found in Dugdale's *History of S. Paul's*,§ but it does not add much to the information already given. It will be observed, however, that these passages only speak of the founding or incorporation of the *College* of the Minor Canons. The Minor Canons themselves existed long before.

Amongst the Harleian MSS. is a volume entitled *Fragmenta Historipolitica Miscellanea Successiva*, col-

* Milman, *Annals*, 143.

† *Monasticon*, vi. 1457-8.

‡ Newcourt, *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum*, i. 232.

§ Dugdale, 17, 18.

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lected by one Thomas Gybbons, Esq., in which I have found the following passage :*—"The church of S. Paule had before the time of the Conquerour two cardinalls, which office still continue (*sic*). They are chosen by the dean and chapt. out of the number of the twelve Petty Canons, and are called *cardinales chori*. Ther office is to take notice of the absence or neglect of all the quire, and weekly to render account thereof to the dean and chapter. They administer likewise ecclesiastical sacraments to the ministers of the Church and ther seruants, etc. Not any cathedral church in Engl. hath cardinalls besides this, nor are any beyond seas to be found to be dignified with this title sauing the churches of Rome, Raquenna, Aquileia, Millan, Pisa, Beneuent, in Italy, and Compostella in Spayn." This extract a little anticipates matters of which I must speak with more particularity by-and-by, but I introduce it for the sake of the words "before the time of the Conquerour." It is to be regretted that Mr. Gybbons has not referred to any authority for these words, but even a hasty examination of documents will suffice to show that Richard II. did not by his charter found a new body, but simply consolidated and incorporated one already in existence.

The original charter is very clear upon this point. The opening words speak of the "chaplains twelve in number who are commonly called Minor Canons:" whence it is clear that the twelve already bore the title by which they are still designated. It proceeds

* Harleian MSS., No. 980, fo. 179A.

even to speak of their canonical dress, *superpellicia cum almuciis de calabre* et capis nigris gerentes*: "they wear surplices with almuces of calaber and with black copes." This body of twelve men not only existed, but were known by a particular name, and by a special dress. It is evident, therefore, that we must carefully distinguish between the original creation of the body of the twelve Minor Canons and their incorporation into a college by Richard II. The body itself is far more ancient than the college.

This appears yet more clearly in the "Confirmatio status et gradus Minorum Canonicorum S. Pauli London," granted by Pope Urban VI. and by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1378.†

In this document Simon Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, publishes certain Apostolic Letters Confirmatory from Pope Urban VI., in which letters the Pope recites a petition which he had received "on the part of his beloved children Martin Elis, John Christemasse, Nicolas Haddelye, Thomas Croxton, and other canons, called Minor Canons, of the Church of London." This petition sets forth that there had been in the cathedral church of S. Paul, "a longis retroactis temporibus," three grades of ecclesiastical persons: "those of the first grade Major Canons, those of the second grade Minor Canons, and those of the third grade Vicars." Pope Urban proceeds to incorporate these statements in

* Calaber, a kind of fur. See Halliwell's *Dictionary*.

† Wilkins, *Concilia*, fo. 1737, Lond. iii. 134, 135. [The Confirmation is wrongly entered in the Index, thus, "Minores Canonici in Eccles S. P. L. instituuntur."]

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his Confirmation, and adds to them the weight of a still stronger statement; declaring that these three grades of ecclesiastical persons had existed in the cathedral church, not merely, as the Minor Canons had said, "from times very remote," but from the very foundation of the church itself: "a tempore cujus non est memoria, et a tempore foundationis ipsius ecclesiæ." The Minor Canons, therefore, of S. Paul's Cathedral date back their origin, not to the charter of Richard II., but to the remote days of the foundation of the cathedral. It may be well to add, before we take our leave of this important document, that Pope Urban further details the number of persons holding the several grades: stating that there were thirty Greater Canons, twelve Lesser Canons, and that there ought to be thirty Vicars.

The College of the Minor Canons consists of twelve priests,* of whom the first is the Sub-dean.† The position of the Sub-dean was one of considerable dignity and authority. He should see and note what was done in choir by all the ministers of the church, and should admonish and correct the offenders. At the chapters, which were held most frequently upon the Saturday, the Sub-dean, in the Dean's absence, should admonish, commend, and

* *Debent esse sacerdotes*, Wilkins, *Concilia*, fo. Lond. 1737, iii. 134, 135.

† "Sub-decanus qui vices Decani, eo absente, gerat in choro; quod quidem ordinatum fuit anno Christi MCCLXXXX° tunc Decano Radulfo Baldok." Dugdale, 345. Ralph de Baldock elected dean 18th Oct., 1294; preferred to bishopric of London, 1304 (Dugdale and Godwin).

correct according to his discretion;* the Greater Canons only being exempt from his authority. Amongst his brethren, however, of the Minor Canons he should be as their equal, save that he alone should wear an almuce of gray fur, after the fashion of a Greater Canon;† which special privilege was granted to him by William Warham;‡ and, further, after the fashion of a Greater Canon, should be censed triply, to which honour there was added the more tangible reward of a larger portion of bread and beer, or a money payment in lieu thereof.

The second and third minor canons are called Cardinals, that is, *Cardinales chori*.§ It was their duty to observe all faults and errors in the choir; to note those who came too late and those who left too soon; to observe who amongst the singers were idle or negligent in their duty, and to summon the defaulters before the chapter. They should minister the sacraments of the Church to the whole and to the sick; they should hear confession, and enjoin suitable penances; they should bury the dead. By way of recompense for these manifold labours they

* Newcourt, *Reportorium*, 233.

† Amictum ex grisio, more majoris canonici. *Amictus*. Primus ex sex indumentis Episcopo et Presbyteris communibus. Sunt autem illa: Amictus, Alba, Cingulum, Stola, Manipulus, Planeta. *Grisium* vel *Griseum*; Pellis animalis cujusdam quod vulgo *Vair* Galli appellant. Ducange. An almuce of the fur called gray was worn by canons. Why *amictus* is here used for *almutium* is uncertain.

‡ William Warham, installed Bishop 5th Oct., 1502; translated to Canterbury by papal bull dated 29th Nov., 1503.

§ Dugdale, 345.

should receive certain offerings of the faithful, and also a larger portion of bread and beer.*

The Sub-dean and the two Cardinals are chosen from the College of the Minor Canons by the dean and by the dean and chapter respectively. The Minor Canons themselves annually elect one of their own body to be their Warden for the year; the Warden nominating as his helper the Pitanciary. Other offices usually held by the Minor Canons were the Divinity Lectureship, founded and endowed by Bishop Richard de Gravesend, and further endowed by Thomas White, the munificent founder of Sion College;† that of Sacrist, whose important and multifarious occupations will be found fully detailed in Dean Milman's *Annals*,‡ and Dugdale's *History*,§ (suffice it to say that the Virgers were under his especial control); and also that of Almoner.

The CHARTER OF INCORPORATION was granted to the Minor Canons by the King himself, 18 Richard II. The original document, beautifully written, upon one skin, in 38 lines, is carefully preserved amongst the archives of the College. The initial illuminated letter represents the King, Richard II., between the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London, presenting this very Charter to the twelve Minor Canons. Over the head of each of the three dignitaries is his coat of arms; the letters T. A. Ebor. indicate the prelate to be Thomas Arundel, who was consecrated

* *Confirmatio a Papa Urbano VI.*

† Milman, *Annals*, 143, and Dugdale, 12, 13.

‡ Milman, *Annals*, 141. § Dugdale, 345-6.

Bishop of Ely in 1374, was translated to York in 1388, and thence to Canterbury in 1396; whilst the letters R. B. Lond. point out Robert Braybrook, consecrated Bishop of London January 5, 1381. The head line of the Charter is surmounted by rich illuminated devices, ensigned with single ostrich-feathers (without scrolls), and contains seven large letters—

L D C R R H H

each letter being the initial of one of the following names mentioned in the body of the document, and containing within itself the remaining letters of the name curiously interwoven: Johannes de Lynton, Robertus Dokesworth, Ricardus Cotell, Willielmus Ryffyn, Willielmus Rode, Thomas Hunte, and Henricus Asshe (or Hasshe, as it is spelt in the illuminated monogram).*

The Charter itself is well preserved, with the exception of a few words nearly obliterated in one of the folds of the vellum; these I have been enabled to recover by a collation with the enrolment preserved in the Public Record Office.† It is unnecessary to give more than a very brief outline of its contents. The preamble states that the Minor Canons had, at first, no common hall; that some were living within, and some without, the churchyard precinct; that in process of time a Hall had been provided for them; that still closer association in their good work was desirable; wherefore the

* Did the citizens illuse the unhappy letter H five centuries ago?

† Rot. Pat. 18 Ric. II. pars 1a, m. 18.

King, having regard to their exemplary piety and devotion, incorporates them into a College, of which one of their own body, elected by themselves, should be Custos or Warden ; grants them a common seal ; and bestows upon them " duo messuagia, quatuor shopas, et decem solidatas redditus." The four shops, "with solars* over them," were situate in the parish of S. Nicholas Flesh Shambles, in Newgate Street,† in the city of London. The Minor Canons on their part were to pray specially for the good estate of the King whilst he lived, and for his soul after his decease, for the soul of Anne his Queen, and for the souls of his parents and ancestors. The Charter is dated at Westminster, "on the first day of August, in the eighteenth year of our reign"—*i.e.*, 1394.

This is not the place in which to tell the oft-told tale of the intense devotion of the King to his beloved consort Anne of Bohemia, sister of the Emperor Wenceslaus of Germany ; of which affection this Charter may be thought to supply some slight additional evidence. She had been married to the King at Westminster Abbey on January 14, 1381-2, and died at her favourite palace of Sheen on June 7, 1394. Richard, "unable to bear the sight of the place where he had passed his only happy hours with this beloved and virtuous Queen, ordered the palace to be levelled with the ground."‡ She was

* *Solar*, an upper room, loft, or garret. Halliwell.

† Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i. 318.

‡ Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens*.

buried on August 3 at Westminster, for the King "desired for himself and all for whom he cared a burial as near as possible to the royal saint,"* King Edward the Confessor. Their tomb, his tomb and hers, completed in his lifetime, bore evidence of his love for her, for his effigy lies by the side of hers, grasping her hand in his. It is "decorated with the ostrich feathers and lions of Bohemia, the eagles of the empire, the leopards of England, the broom-cods of the Plantagenets, and the sun rising through the black clouds of Crécy."† A few years later, and the body of our royal benefactor lay for a brief space within the walls of the church which he had enriched with his bounty. "Richard II. was brought to S. Paul's, but not to worship or to weep. His dead body, after the murder at Pontefract Castle, was exposed for three days in the cathedral."‡ A "solemn and wicked mockery," as Dean Milman justly calls it. It were no difficult task to picture to one's self the newly incorporated members of the Minor Canons' College, with Johannes de Lynton, their first warden, at their head, standing around the coffin, as

At Powle's his mass was done and diryge
In hers royall, semely to royalte,§

* Stanley's *Westminster Abbey*, 150, edit. 3.

† *Ibid.* p. 151. As to the probable origin of the ostrich-feather badge, which Miss Strickland is certainly mistaken in referring to Anne of Bohemia, see Sir N. H. Nicolas' paper, "On the Badges and Mottoes of the Princes of Wales," *Archæologia*, xxxi. 350; and see *ibid.* xxxii. 69 and 332. The ostrich badge of the Queen will be found noticed by Mr. J. G. Nichols, *Archæologia*, xxix. 51.

‡ Dean Milman, *Annals of S. Paul's*, 81.

§ *Ibid.* quoting Hardyng, *Chronicle*, ch. cc. stanza 1.

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so soon called upon to perform the sad duties enjoined in their Charter, to pray for the soul of their murdered benefactor.*

In the Appendix to Dugdale's *History of S. Paul's Cathedral* will be found two important documents relating to the new hall of the Minor Canons. The first of these† is a Charter of the Dean and Chapter, dated at the Chapter House, August 2, 1353; in which Gilbert de Bruera, Dean of S. Paul's, and the Chapter of the said Church, ratify, approve, and confirm the erection of a new hall for the Minor Canons, near *le Pardoun Chirche Hawe* on the northern side, upon ground given for that purpose, "out of cordial affection and fraternal love," by Sir Robert de Kyngeston, Minor Canon and Cardinal. The second document‡ is the *confirmation* by the Bishop of London concerning the same Hall, given at Hadham, January 3, 1364, in which Simon Sudbury, after reciting the Charter, of which an abstract has just been given, ratifies and confirms the same. Pardon Church Haugh was situate on the north side of S. Paul's Cathedral, eastwards from the Bishop's palace.§

It should here be mentioned that King Edward III. is also to be reckoned amongst our royal benefactors. For "towards the maintenance" of the Minor

* Richard II. is "the first English king whose autograph we possess." See *Fac-Similes of National MSS.*, part i., 1865.

† Appendix to Dugdale, art. xxxv. MS. Baker, Harl., Brit. Mus. 7043, fo. 261.

‡ Dugdale, Appendix, art. xxxvi. MS. Baker, Harl., Brit. Mus. 7043, fo. 263.

§ *Ibid.*, 92.

Canons "to sing divine service daily in this church of S. Paul for the good estate of King Edward the Third and of Queen Philippa his consort; as also for all their children during their lives in this world, and moreover for their souls after their departure hence, and for the souls of all the faithful deceased, it appears that the said King, in the 40th year of his reign, gave licence unto one Robert de Ketryngham, then rector of S. Gregory's, and others, to grant certain messuages and lands of the value of £6 13s. 4d. per annum to the Dean and Chapter of S. Paul's."*

But it is time to pass on to the STATUTES OF THE MINOR CANONS.

These Statutes form a volume preserved amongst the archives of the College. It consists of forty-three leaves of vellum, each leaf measuring in height seven inches and three-quarters by about five inches and a quarter in breadth. The volume is encased in wooden boards covered with stout leather. This leather covering extends about two inches above the boards at the top of the book, and about six inches beyond the boards at the lower part of the book. It also extends beyond the first cover of the book so far as to fold over the under-cover when the book is closed, and it is then secured by two leathern straps furnished with perforated brass plates, which fasten upon a pair of brass studs fixed upon the lower cover. On this lower cover are written the words—

*Statuta Aoni Collegii Minor' Canonico'
Eccl'ie Cathedralis Sancti Pauli London.*

* Dugdale, 17; Pat. 40 Edw. III., p. 2, m. 3.

This inscription is covered by a thin plate of horn secured to the boards by four rims of brass fastened by nails. The first and second leaves are blank, the third leaf contains the index, the fourth leaf is blank, the following twenty-six leaves contain the statutes, and the remaining thirteen leaves are blank. The titles of the several statutes are in red, as are also the numbers of the leaves, the initial letters in blue with red flourishes. The volume is all in one hand—a fine clear hand; and though, as appears from a passage in Statute 36, it cannot have been written at an earlier period than 1521, it can hardly have been written much later.

In the observations which I shall have to offer upon these statutes, I shall not quote from the Latin original but from an English version,* written at about the same period as the volume just referred to. I adopt this course, because the occasional quaintness of expression observable in the English translation may lend an additional interest to the subject.

The statutes are divided into thirty-eight sections, two or three of which are rather *Memoranda* than *Statutes*. From the preamble we gather that these Statutes were drawn up by the members of the College, in Common Hall assembled, on March 18, 1396, within two years, that is, of their incorporation by King Richard II. As quiet, peace-loving men,

* A MS. upon paper, in small quarto (consisting of twenty leaves, 11 inches high, 8½ inches wide) amongst the Archives of the Minor Canons.

“amongst whome there ys, as there ought to be, but oon hart and oon mynde in God,” they met together to ordain “thes holsome rules and invyolable decrees,” in order that “inordinate desyre of offendinge or hurtinge oon an other . . . might of ryght be restrayned, the devyne servis to almightie God devowtly rendred, and brotherly charitie as reason wolde sholde be obserued.” This religious desire for brotherly concord, and an earnest simple wish to do their duty in the Church and out of it, appears throughout the whole of their decrees: decrees, it will be observed, not forced upon them from without, but drawn up by themselves for their own government; and deriving their whole authority from the “oon vniforme consent and agrement” with which they were received by the whole body. From the opening words, recalling the promise of the Lord, “Wheare there are ij or three gathered together in my name, saythe the Lorde, there am I in the middest of them,” to the last section of the statutes, the hearty desire to live in amity and to serve God faithfully appears in every provision. A small fine for occasional delinquency was all that was thought needful in the generality of offences; a fine sufficient to remind the brethren that they were men living under a fraternal rule, a rule for their good.

The election of new members to the body was conducted on this wise: a vacancy occurred, the Minor Canons assembled, and after “deliberate consultation amonge themselves as towchinge this

matter" did "chuse ij sufficient and fitt men to serve" in that minor canonry "or prebende, and thes" did nominate and present unto the Dean and Chapter.* Of these two the Dean and Chapter selected one. Great caution is enjoined lest the election should at any time be governed by "favor, carnall affection, or for luker and gayne (which God forbid:)" and that the candidates should be "worthy sufficient and mete men, not only in readinge and singinge but also and especially in honesty of lyfe and godlynes of conversacion: sownde of bodie, and of power and abilitie to serve God and the church aforsaide both day and night." Before admission, the Minor Canon elect took an oath that he would be obedient to the master or warden of the college "in all honest lawfull and canonicall causis," that he would observe the statutes, maintain the "rightes and commodities" of the college, and take care that this oath should be duly administered to all who might thereafter be admitted to the body. This done, the "nue felowe" was admitted by the Warden, with a suitable form of induction. The oath was to be administered "in the porche belonging to the haule of the forsaide colledge." The entrance fee, which was to be applied "toward the mayntenance of the napry and other thinges of necessary vse in the howse," was xjs. viij*d.*, and when the candidate was beneficed xxvjs. viij*d.*: and, either during his lifetime, or by his executors, he should give to the college "oon silver spoone to the

* See also *Confirmatio a Papa Urbano VI.*, ut supra.

value of fyve shillinges or more, for to increase the treasure and publicke vtilitie of the said colledge for euer."

From these preliminaries the statutes soon pass to graver themes—Statute 7 treating "of the devyne servise due vnto God and vnto Hym to be rendred." The brethren should be "decently arayed or adorned" in time of divine service; they should enter the church not "stratly vnhonestly or with a disioined pace, but with greate reverence and in the feare of God;" they should keep due silence, and render service both of voice and heart, "accordinge to the mynd of the Apostle, when he saith, 'I will pray in spirit and will pray in mynde; I will singe in spirit and will singe also in mynde.'" Their apparel and gesture should be seemly, and "that of custome."

In their common hall they should assemble to dine and sup, the supper being "at fyve of the cloke;" each should take the first vacant seat (save the Warden, for whom the place of honour was reserved), special consideration being extended to "thos which are molested with sicknes and oppressed with age." The Steward, or his deputy, should say grace, as well before dinner and supper as after. Too great particularity about victual is reprobated. The conversation must be kindly and considerate, for "this word *frater*, for a brother, hath his beginninge of sufferinge, or bearinge with an other," and "we will and ordayne that ovr bretherne eatinge, drinkinge, or talkinge together shall behave them selves honestly oon towards an other, and

shall gently and patiently beare oon with an other, supporting oon an other in love, beinge carfull to kepe the unitie of the spirite in the bonde of peace, goinge oon before an other in geuinge honor, as saith the Apostle." Should contention or strife arise " (which God forbid), straight way the Warden shall commaunde silence," a command which, in extreme cases, might be enforced by a fine of *ijd.*, or *ijj*d.** for a second offence. " Oon lesson of the holy byble " should be read daily at dinner-time, " that, whylest the externall bodie ys filled, the internall sowle might be refreshed ;" and should any " by vayne brablings distorbe the readinge of the holy Scripture," he should pay a like penalty. Each Minor Canon in his turn should serve as Steward for a week at a time, and should superintend " the victualles for the whole comons," avoiding waste. Except he had sufficient cause, each brother should take his meals at the common table, to which, under proper regulations, strangers might be occasionally introduced, but no " foriner " might bear the cost of the dinner, which must be defrayed by the brother introducing him ; such cost varying in amount " as the dearth or plentie of victualles then requireth ;" but the common supper was to be pretermitted in the time of Lent, " except it be vpon the Sondayes only."

" Euery day thorouought the yeare," during the time of dinner or supper, both the gates of the College were to be shut ; he that " shutteth not shurly after hym thos gates " being fined one penny. From

Easter till Michaelmas every man must be within the walls by nine of the clock, and during the rest of the year by eight, lest any of the Minor Canons be "hindred of there naturall reste or become vnapt to serue God." The College precincts must be kept scrupulously clean, and if repairs at any time be needed, the superfluous materials are to be removed "imediately vpon the finishinge of any suche worke," under penalty of *ij* *l.*, such fine to be doubled in case of necessity, "and so as the falt increseth in lyke sorte let the punishmente." Suspected women and dishonest plays and sights must be shunned; and should "any wemen vehemently suspected or notorious for euell lyfe" be brought into the "cumpase of the Colledge," the brother so offending should for the first offence forfeit *iijs. iiij* *l.*, for the second *vjs. viij* *l.*, but if he should offend a third time, "let hym be expelled owt of the comone haule and excluded from all profittes and comodities of the said Colledge vntill he may be reconciled." The like punishments awaited those who should "frequent or haunt the stues or tauerns publickly with harlottes, or any other vnhonest playes and spectacles prohibited to clerkes." It is satisfactory to find that whereas breaches of regulations relating to the internal government of the house were to be punished by small penalties of *j* *l.* or *ij* *l.*, immorality was thus visited by very severe fines, and, if these proved insufficient, by the expulsion of the offending member.

For the greater unity of the brethren, care is to be taken "that no man backbyte or speake euell of

another, nether yet reuele wordes unaduysedly spoken to any man." Neither should any reveal "the councelles and secretes of the Colledge." As for anger, brawling, and contention, should they arise, "which God forbid," the Warden should settle the matter out of hand, and should command immediate silence, which being done, the offender must at once submit and leave off "from farther contention, and especially from comparisons which are odiose, and oftentimes the causes and occasions of many incomodities." And "yf any man, by the instigation of Satan, shall lay violent hande vpon his felowe, although he doo not stryke hym, yet he shalbe punished in iijs. iiij*d.*," and the greater the transgression the larger should the penalty become. And should any malice or envy grow up between any of the brethren, "the Master or Warden of our Colledge with ij or iij of the seniors or wyser sorte" (it is in the Latin, *cum duobus aut tribus senioribus vel sanioribus totius comitive*) "of the whole company vnto hym associat" should take order for their reconciliation; for "it ys apparant, that by concorde and peace smale thinges doo encrease, as also by dissention and discorde greate thinges come to ruin."

Every year, on S. Barnabas' Day, the Minor Canons should meet together in their common hall and proceed "to the eleccion of a nue Master or Warden of the said Colledge." In this election they were to proceed "ether by the way of scrutini, or by the way of compromissary, or by the way of the

Holy Goaste." * The Warden, having been duly elected, should, on the day following S. John Baptist's Day, or within three days thereof, "faythfully and withoute gyle," make his account to the College. After the election of the Warden, who was always to be one of their own body, the brethren were to appoint one of themselves to be Pitanciary, of whom they should take a corporal oath that he would be faithful in distributing the things belonging to his office, "that ys to say, in funerals, stagiaries, and in other parseles due vnto vs, as farr forth as he may possibly." He was to assist the Warden in the payments to their common servants, in the procuring of fuel for the common use of the house, and in other matters duly set forth in the statute.

Should any Minor Canon decline to serve in an office to which he had been duly elected by his brethren, he should be fined vjs. viij*d*. The somewhat delicate task "of the levyinge of forfeitures to be payed" devolved upon the Warden and Pitanciary, with the Steward, by the two former of whom the Minor Canons might at any time be called together. "Fower tymes, or els twyce, or at the leaste oonce in euery yeare," the brethren should hear the Statutes read in their Common Hall, so that none should be able to plead ignorance of their contents; every man to give diligent heed thereto, "abstayninge them

* "Per viam Sp. Sancti." The three modes of canonical election as prescribed in the 24th Canon of the fourth Lateran Council. See *Corpus Juris Canonici*: Extra. De Electione, c. Quia propter. (Decretal. Greg. ix. lib. I, cap. xlii.)

selues from dissolutnes in behaviour, as shoflinge with there feete."

Should any Minor Canon borrow any book out of the common library, he must deliver to the Warden "a bill sealed with his owne seale, contayninge both the proper name of the booke, and his name also that boroweth it, with the tyme therin of the lone thereof limited by the Warden." No necessary implement of the house, such as "any siluer cuppe, maser, spone, napkins, towelles," might be taken by any man to his own use without special leave. Should any brother desire to have "fleshe, fishe, or any other meates to be sodd, rosted, or baked" in the common kitchen, for himself or his friends, he must find at his own cost the fuel for that purpose. The common servants were to be treated with due consideration, with no "uniust thretninges or in-iurious wordes;" still less should any Minor Canon "presume ether to stryke or to beate" them. The servants on their part were, on admission, to be "straightly bownde and charged" that they would faithfully serve the society, and reveal none of its secrets; and should they "shute forth any vncumly or vnsemlly word" against their masters, they should lose their service and their wages then due.

A chamber next adjoining the west end of the Common Hall was to be set apart as the Treasure House; the Warden for the time being to keep the key thereof. In this treasury should be kept a chest locked with three keys, and a box in which the common seal of the College should be preserved.

Of the chest the Pitanciary should have one key, whilst the other two should be held by "ij other of greater credit and longer continuance in this fellowship, beinge hearunto apoynted by the Warden:" the like caution being observed with regard to the custody of the three keys of the common seal. The said chest and box to be opened only in presence of the whole society. Should any matters arise of which no mention is made in the Statutes, the Warden, or "the greater and wiser sorte of the company" must determine what action should be taken.

A short Statute is next added defining the duties of the Junior Cardinal, which have been "a custome alway, yea, euen tyme oute of mynde," that he "doo continually visit the sicke as the maner ys, and minister the sacramentes vnto them, as often as shalbe nedfull, whether it be in his weke or no." The Statutes, properly so called, end with the following clause, recording a special dispensation or privilege granted to one Thomas Hikeman, Minor Canon and Almoner, allowing him, in his absence, to have "oon honest prest although a stranger," at the table of the Minor Canons daily as a commoner, which priest was, I presume, to act as his deputy. The privilege was to extend to all future Almoners.

And here end the Statutes proper. There are, indeed, two additional sections, but these relate to benefactions to the College. The first, to the gift * by John Gotham, sometime Minor Canon and Senior Cardinal, of two yearly rents to be quietly enjoyed

* A.D. 1519.

for ever, the one of xxvjs. viij*d.* to be paid by the master and wardens "of the crafte of pewtellers in London;" the other of xxjs. viij*d.* to be paid by the master and wardens "of the crafte of habberdasshers," in the same city. The second section records the gift by Robert Aslyn, Minor Canon and Subdean, of new hangings for the adornment in "the somer tyme" of the Common Hall, "wouen and made of tapistry worke distinguished with spaces of redd and whyte, with flowers, beastes, and birdes."

I have dwelt with considerable detail upon these Statutes, because they seem to me to present a very faithful picture of the inner life of a religious house at the close of the fourteenth century;* all the more faithful, and all the more truthful, because nothing was further from the original purpose of the document. The Minor Canons of those days were a peaceful body of men, loving order, hating discord, desirous above all things to serve God faithfully, and to be at peace with one another. Amongst such men, as the Statutes show, respect for constituted authority was so strong that their Warden, a man chosen out of their own body, could preserve order and unity by very light punishments; punishments, be it observed, levied by their own free will. They wore a dress which indicated their rank;† they were

* A.D. 1396.

† "Amictum ex calebro utuntur;" "ipsi autem Minores Canonici in choro et in ecclesia portent superpellicia alba, almitia de variis minutis [*i.e.* miniver] internis et de calabro nigro externis, ac capas nigras apertas cum capuciis nigris magnis furratis de sindone vel taffata."



PLATE I.—SILVER SEALS OF THE COLLEGE OF THE TWELVE MINOR
CANONS.

To face p. 27.

not like Chantry Priests, confined to very humble ministrations, but they took the place of the Greater Canons in turn, and officiated at the High Altar. The Mass of the B. V. M., the Mass of the Apostles, and the Capitular Mass, also fell to their lot. The candidate for the office was not to be taken at random, but to be chosen with great care. "A Minor Canon should have, before all things, good life, good manners, a good voice (sound and pleasing); he should be skilful in the art of singing, using his voice to the glory of God." Nor was this all. "He should remember that he, besides being a Priest, is a Canon in the Church of S. Paul; and that, in addition to the habit of a Priest, he wears the canonical habit, which is truly the habit of holiness and of religion. So he will take heed to live in a better way than other ordinary Priests, knowing that he is in S. Paul's Church, and that he ought to show an example of holier life to other Priests in the City."*

The ancient silver seals of the College of Minor Canons deserve special notice.† The common seal represents a full-length figure of S. Paul, bearing in his right hand a book, and in his left a sword with the point downwards, surrounded by the legend,

S' : COE : COLLII : XII : MINOR : CANONICOR :
ECCLIE : SCI : PAVLI : LOND'.

The seal *ad causas*, exhibits two swords saltire-wise, in chief the head of S. Paul, in base a clasped book,

* Dugdale, 353. Ex cod. MS. penès Will. Pierpont, Arm.

† See Plate I.

28 *Minor Canons in S. Paul's Cathedral.*

in the remaining quarters the letters **M** and **C**, the whole surrounded by a circle with octo-foiled cusplings, and the legend,

S' CO'E COLL XII MINOR CANONIC'
T ECCL S PL' AD CAVSAS.

For many years past these two seals have been used as seal and counterseal.

I will throw into the briefest form a few desultory notes taken from the manuscript collections of the Rev. John Pridden, F.S.A., a former Minor Canon. Mr. Pridden says that "the name of the Minor Canons' College is S. Peter's,"* and adds that James Clifford, senior Cardinal, went first to dwell in one of the four houses then newly built, and called S. Paul's College (after the dreadful Fire) on the 8th of August, 1682. "Dr. Ratcliffe de Grayes Inn" gave by will, 20 July, 1615, £200 "to remaine and bee employed for a yearly rent for ever for and towards some part of the charges of such gentlemen, scholars of Oxford and Cambridge, as shall willingly bestow their paines in preaching the Gospell of Jesus Christ at S. Paul's Cross."

Amongst certain payments "to the twelve Minor Canons in general" were allowances for "commons, beere, trencher bread, small beere (called Wilkin), bread money, waselst† on S. Paul's Conversion‡ and

* See *Return of Chantries*, 1 Edw. VI. Dugdale, p. 390.

† Wassail. The term in later times was applied to any festivity. The liquor termed *Wassail* in the provinces is made of apples, sugar, and ale. Halliwell's *Dictionary*.

‡ January 25.

Commemoration,* and flawnest† on Monday and Tuesday in Rogation week;” together with sums paid to the Pitanciary “for their stagiary, the postel masse, etc.”

The Pridden Collections contain also nominal lists of Minor Canons at various periods, together with the amount of the stipends paid to the Almoner, the Chamberlain and his clerk, the Sacrist, “the Clarke of the Chappiter,” and other officers, including one “Roger Kyngston, Ligator librorum, Bynder of the books,” a Keeper of the common Altar, and two Keepers of the north door.

Details of payments due to the Minor Canons in the year 1374 may be gathered from the *Confirmatio status et gradus Minorum Canonicorum* already referred to.‡ The commutation of these allowances for a money payment adds value to the passage cited. The rights of the Minor Canons to these and all their other privileges were secured, not only by Royal charter and by Papal confirmation of their *status*, but also by a special malediction invoked by Pope Urban VI. upon any who should dare to

* June 30.

† Flaun. A custard, generally made in raised paste. A kind of pancake was also called by this name. Halliwell's *Dictionary*.

‡ “Quilibet eorum percipit de camera ecclesiæ prædictæ septimanatim quinque denarios sterlingorum, et in quolibet duplici festo anni unum denarium. Item de communi pistrino ipsius ecclesiæ qualibet septimana septem panes albos et ponderatos; quilibet panis octo marcas sterlingorum in pastu et de eodem pistrino septimanatim tres panes nigros, vocatos ‘Trenchurbred,’ vel pro illis unum denarium sterlingorum. Item de communi cellario xii bolles melioris cervisiæ, vel xii denarios sterlingorum; et tres bollas debilioris cervisiæ vocat. ‘Wilkyn,’ vel pro eis unum denarium qualibet septimana.”

infringe upon them: should anyone venture so to do "let him know that he will incur the anger of the Almighty, and of His Apostles, the blessed Peter and Paul."

Amongst the evidences still preserved in the archive chest of the Minor Canons, besides the original charter of Richard II., are the following documents: An Ordinance of Robert Braybroke, Bishop of London, touching the new incorporation, confirmed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and consented to by the Dean and Chapter, under their respective seals, anno 1397; the Confirmation of the Privileges of the Minor Canons by Henry V., in the second year of his reign, anno 1414; a Licence from Edward IV. to exchange certain messuages, in the eighth year of his reign, anno 1468; the Confirmation of the Privileges of the College, by Letters Patent, from Henry VII., dated anno 1487, which Letters Patent were exhibited at the Royal Visitation of Edward VI., anno 1547; and a Confirmation of their privileges by Queen Elizabeth in the eighth year of her reign. Several of these Royal Charters are richly illuminated.

The *Saint Paul's Cathedral, London, Minor Canonries Act*, 1875, has materially changed this ancient corporation. The College of the *Twelve* Minor Canons is, by a gradual process, to be reduced to *Six*, who "shall continue to be a body politic under

the style of *The Custos or Warden and Minor Canons of Saint Paul's Cathedral* : and other important changes have been made, which are fully set forth in the Act, and which it is not necessary here to discuss or to enumerate. The original Charter by Richard II. in 1394, had given the College (already in being) its *corporate* existence : from that time till 1840 (3 and 4 Vict., *cap.* 113), a period of nearly four centuries and a half, no material change had been made in its constitution.



THE LIBRARY.



CHAPTER II.

THE LIBRARY.

IT might naturally be supposed that the Library of S. Paul's Cathedral—the Cathedral of the greatest City of the world—would be pre-eminently rich in early literature. Here, one would say, would be abundant stores of old Chronicles, many of them compiled within the ancient precincts: *Chroniculi S. Pauli* are to be found in the Bodleian Library, and elsewhere; surely they are here also. Liturgical books must also abound. S. Paul's was so dignified a Cathedral that it had its own Use: the ancient *Usus Sancti Pauli* which Bishop Clifford superseded, to a great extent at least, when he introduced the *Use of Sarum*. No doubt we shall find the original service books in rich variety—Breviary, Antiphonal, Collectarium, Gradual, in abundance, with their special Offices and Prayers and Anthems. Grand Texts of Holy Scripture will be there—sumptuously

bound, enamelled, jewelled, golden-clasped. The history of the great City of which the Cathedral forms the heart and centre, this will be illustrated by countless volumes reaching from century to century.

Yes, it was so, once upon a time. Dugdale, in his *History*, has printed the ancient catalogues of the Library in the days when it stood over the great cloister to the north of Old S. Paul's. The Library was marvellously rich. Rich in early texts of Holy Scripture, illuminated in gold and colours; rich in early ritual books, glowing with the best specimens of the painter's art; rich in philosophy and history; rich in sermons and homilies. Many of the precious volumes were made still more precious by their sumptuous binding: velvet, gold, silver, rich gems, lending their aid to enhance the labours of the scribe and of the painter. Others more precious than even scribe, and artist, and well-skilled binder could make them: for they had been the cherished possessions of great men in the days gone by, scholars, bishops, saints.

But all are swept away. The catalogues remain: the books themselves have vanished. Not a single Text of Holy Scripture remains out of the old manuscript library, and not a single ritual book, unless, indeed, I may make one exception.

No! and not even a Caxton, or a Wynkyn de Worde; not a single exemplar of the earliest English printers. Not one remains to gladden the eyes of the Librarian.

Fire, alas, has been the direst enemy of the stately Church. In 1561, a terrible conflagration destroyed the spire, the loftiest in England, grievously injured the roofs, destroyed part of the cloisters, and probably deprived us of many of our treasures.

In the Interregnum the soldiers of the Long Parliament were quartered in the Cathedral. Horses neighed in the Canons' stalls. The beautiful woodwork was hewn down and burnt, monuments recklessly broken to pieces, and there is no reason to think that books would be more sacred.

What was left, the Great Fire of 1666 utterly destroyed.

A large number of deeds and records were saved; but of books, technically so called, I can now only point, with certainty, to three as having formed part of the ancient library of the Church.

The first is a MS. of Avicenna. This certainly belonged to the old Cathedral, as we gather from an inscription in the volume itself.

The second is a MS. *Chronicle* of Ralph de Diceto, our illustrious Dean, the great historian, written in the large bold hand for which our *Scriptorium* was famous. This is now in Lambeth library, to which it has strayed—when and how, I know not—but it is included in Todd's *Catalogue of the Lambeth MSS.*, printed in 1812. Bishop Stubbs describes it with loving appreciation: "The Lambeth MS. of Ralph de Diceto* is a fine large folio MS., written on very stout vellum, in double columns, forty-four lines to

* Bishop Stubbs, *Ralph de Diceto*, I., lxxxviii., lxxxix.

the page, rubricated . . . This MS. is no doubt an original possession of the author, and must by him have been left among the archives of his Cathedral. It was there when Edward I. examined the treasures of the Cathedral." It is found in the catalogue of the Library drawn up in 1458.* It was "no doubt transferred from S. Paul's to Lambeth soon after the Reformation. It formed a part of the archiepiscopal library, when it was removed to Cambridge during the troubles of the Commonwealth, and was restored at the Restoration."† Restored, but not to St. Paul's.

The third is a MS. account of the miracles of the Blessed Virgin, now in the College Library at Aberdeen.

A MS. *Psalterium*, now in the Cathedral Library, is *probably* one of the old service books of the Church. The Obits in the calendar enumerate names not unfamiliar in the records of the Cathedral. The manuscript was exhibited at the *Music Loan Exhibition* at South Kensington, in 1885, and is thus described in the catalogue :

"*Psalterium cum Kalendario*. (English, xiii. century. Vellum. H. 340 m. B. 225 m.)‡ The property of the Dean and Chapter of Saint Paul's, London. The Kalendar, ff. 2 to 7, contains a few obits :

"Sept. 7. O. Alicia de Ver, comitissa Oxonie, anno gracie, 1312.

* Dugdale, *S. Pauls*, 393.

† Bishop Stubbs, I., xc.

‡ From the *Catalogue of the Music Loan Exhibition at South Kensington in 1885*, by W. H. J. Weale.

“Nov. 23. O. Matildis Everard de Baudak, anno gracie Millesimo cc^olxxj^o.

“27. O. Alicia de Trak, priorissa de Halm.

“29. O. Willelmus Everard, iunior, de Baudak, anno gracie, m^occ^olxxij^o.

“Dec. 22. O. Willelmus Everard de Baudak, senior, anno gracie, 1270.

“The text commencing f. 9, with the Hymn *Primo dierum omnium*, is written in long lines, 21 to the full page, with the musical notation on a staff of 4 red lines. The initial B of Psalm i., formed of interlaced work on a burnished gold panel (H. 133 m., B. 103 m.) with figures of our Lord, and of the devil who is playing a violin, has suffered much. There are six other illuminated initials, of less importance. Another (f. 63) has been cut out. On f. 1 is the name of a former proprietor of this psalter, *Dns Willelmus Goodred.*”

A manuscript volume, entitled, *A Book for the entering an Account of the several Benefactions to the Library of S. Paul's*, gives, in the most succinct form, a short narrative of the endeavours made from time to time to provide some rich stores for the foundation of the New Library.

First of all:

“Memorandum. Anno Dñi, 1708. The Books of the Rev^d. Mr. Robert Gery then late Vicar of Islington, in the County of Middlesex were purchas'd for y^e beginning of a Library for y^e Cathedral Church of St. Paul's. W^{ch} Purchase was made through the

kind Benefactions of his Grace Thomas Lord Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr Thomas Tennison) and Sr Nicholas Stewart of Hampshire Bart. and then one of ye Chamberlains of her Majesties' Exchequer: the latter of these worthy Persons, as the first Contributor to ye said Library, having some time before by ye hands of Sr James Montagu Knt., then her Majesties' Solicitor General, given the sum of two hundred Pounds to ye Hon^{ble} ye Commissioners for ye rebuilding, finishing, and adorning St. Paul's, for and towards furnishing a Library at that Cathedral Church, w^{ch} was judg'd proper by them to be apply'd to ye purchase of ye Books aforesaid; and ye former of them (his Grace) having that year added two hundred and fifty Pounds to ye above-mention'd Gift towards compleating the Purchase thereof."

The next step was taken two years later :

"Sept^r. Anno Dñi. 1710. A very curious Collection of old English Bibles and Testaments etc. and of Bibles, Testaments, etc., in Foreign Languages, together wth a considerable number of very rare Biblical, Liturgical, and other scarce and valuable Treatises (several of w^{ch} were written by our first Reformers, or others contemporary with them) was purchas'd by the Hon^{ble} ye Commissioners for rebuilding, finishing, and adorning the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's, as a very proper Addition to ye* then present Collection of Books in ye Library of ye Church aforesaid."

* "See ye beginning of this Book concerning ye Purchase of Mr. Gery's Library."

Next comes a truly noble gift :

“An. Dom. 1708. Given to the Library of St. Paul’s by the Rev^d. Dr. Stanley, Dean of St. Asaph, and Residentiary of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul’s.

“*Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*, 6. tom. 12 vol. cor. turc. chart. mag. fol. deaur. London, 1657.

“Edm. Castelli *Lexicon Heptaglotton*, 2. tom. cor. turc. chart. mag. fol. deaur. London, 1669.”

This is Walton’s *Polyglot* (having the Royal Dedication), with Castell’s *Lexicon*, both on large paper. (Some say that only twelve copies were taken off on large paper.) It is one of the treasures of the Library.

A still greater enrichment was received from the bequest of that “high-born, high-minded Prelate,” Henry Compton, Bishop of London, who is often called the Founder of the Library. His book-plate still remains in many of the volumes, and the following summary statement attests the munificence of the gift :

“The following Books were bequeath’d to the Library of St. Paul’s by the Right Rev^d. Father in God Henry, Lord Bishop of London, and delivered July 11, 1715, according to y^e Tenor and Intention of his last Will to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul’s for the Library aforesaid by the Honourable General Compton his Worthy Executor.”

Then follows a detailed catalogue of Bishop Comp-

ton's books, amounting to about 1,892 volumes, thus classed :

Folio	...	...	...	558
Quarto	...	...	...	277
Quarto and Octavo	...	...	...	452
Octavo, etc.	...	...	...	605
				<hr/>
				1,892

The next important gift deserves separate notice :

"June, An. Dñi. 1722. Given then for the Library of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's, by Dr. Henry Godolphin, the Dean thereof.

"Biblia Sacra Chald. Heb. Gr. et Lat. una cum apparatus, etc., sumptibus Philippi II. Regis Hisp. 8 vol. Ant., 1569-72."

Very thoughtfully, Dean Godolphin considered that a Library must have a Librarian, and that the Librarian should have some remuneration : wherefore

"The said Dean Godolphin purchased a Fee-farm Rent* (issuing out of the Manor of Beeston *alias* Beeston Regis, in the County of Norfolk) of twenty pounds p^r Annum as a salary for the Librarian; and annex'd it to the ninth Minor Canon's Stall for ever."

The last recorded gift of large extent is the following :

* This Fee-farm Rent, somewhat reduced in amount, the Librarian still enjoys.

“Anno Dom. 1783. The Rev^d. Mr. John Mangey late Prebendary of this Church and Vicar of Dunmow in Essex gave his Books, including his Father's (the learned Dr. Thomas Mangey, formerly Prebendary of Durham etc.), to this Library, provided the Dean and Chapter would pay his Widow £150. The terms were accepted and the books received.

“N.B. The Collection was estimated at £600.”

Since that time successive donations from the Deans, Canons, Prebendaries, and others, have made the Library what it now is.

Amongst our manuscripts may be mentioned :

“The Rules and Ceremonies of the Monastery of Sion at Isleworth,” which contains a very curious table of signs to be used by the Sisters during the hours of silence.

Two *Donation Books* containing autographs of Charles II., James II., and many other Donors to the rebuilding of the Cathedral.

Amongst the printed books, it will suffice to name :

Tyndale's *New Testament*. Antwerp, 1526. *First* edition.

Tyndale's *New Testament*. *Second* and *third* editions.

Tyndale's *Pentateuch*, 1534.

Matthew's *Bible*, 1537.

Coverdale's *second* edition of the *New Testament*, 1538.

In addition to these there is a long series of Bibles, well known to Collectors from the exhaustive lists in such works as Cotton's *Editions of the Bible*.

The Collection is, of course, rich in Fathers, Councils, and in English Theology of the seventeenth century.

A few interesting autograph signatures are found amongst the books—Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Compton, Izaak Walton (Iz. Wa.), Izaak Casaubon, Lauderdaill, Anglesey, Hamon l'Estrange.

In a copy of *Sermones discipuli de tempore et de Sanctis** (4° Argentorati, 1495), is the following early manuscript note :

“Orate charitative pro [anima] Johis Tyndalle qui dedit hunc librum Conventui de Grenwyche fratrum minorum de observancia die professionis sui filii fratris Willielmi Anno domini 1508.”

Mr. Beriah Botfield has printed this inscription in his *Notes on Cathedral Libraries*, but with an important error, “Thos” for “Johis.”

This inscription has been usually understood to mean that John Tyndale presented this book to the Monastery of the Observants at Greenwich, on the day of the profession “of his son, Brother William:” with the further gloss that William Tyndale was *the* Tyndale, Translator of the New Testament. But Mr. Demaus and Mr. Lovett† will not allow that this William Tyndale was ever a professed monk.

* The Press mark is 13. D. 16.

† See *William Tyndale, a Biography*, by R. Demaus. *A new edition, revised*, by Richard Lovett, 8°, London, 1886.

The Library has been greatly enriched during the last twenty years, more particularly by books and tracts relating to the history of the Cathedral itself. I am anxious to form a good collection of Paul's *Cross Sermons*, and have succeeded in gathering together not a few. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of the earlier sermons, such as Latimer's and Lever's, to the historian who wishes to form an accurate idea of the society of the time. The unsparing, bold denunciation of the sins and follies of the age; the allusions to manners and customs, and even to such apparently minute matters as the cost of living, the dress of the well-defined ranks of society, the abuses, great and small, which were growing up in Church and State, all which are handled in the most open and courageous manner, make these sermons simply invaluable to the reader who would see the men and women of the past in their habit as they lived. A few of these sermons will often supply a more accurate picture of the times in which they were preached than many a chapter of eloquent generalizations in the volumes of even an illustrious historian.

Entertaining somewhat strongly the idea that a Library like this should aim at being good in some one particular branch of study, rather than that it should try, vainly, to be a good general library—an utter impossibility, with the means at our disposal—I have endeavoured, during the seven-and-twenty years in which I have held office as Librarian, to extend the collection in the direction of local history. In the

result, I am able to point to a goodly series of books and pamphlets relating to the *History of S. Paul's*; to a series, imperfect as yet, of *Plays* acted by the Children of Paul's; to a long series of *Sermons* preached at the Cross or in the Cathedral; to a small selection of Tracts on the *Sacheverell Controversy*, much of which turned, as will be remembered, upon a sermon preached in S. Paul's; to an accumulation of plates and views of the grand Church itself; and, generally, to a goodly mass of material which will be of service to the future historian of S. Paul's.

I must acknowledge, as I do most heartily, the ready help which I have received at the hands of the Dean and Chapter, who have given me the fullest license to work on these lines.

The Library is also rich in Pamphlets. On the death of Bishop Sumner, who presided over the Diocese of Winchester from 1827 to 1869, I was fortunate enough to purchase the large collection of Tracts, political and religious, which he had formed during his long episcopate. This collection alone comprises no less than 6,348 separate tracts, bound in 310 volumes. To these I have made a catalogue, alphabetically arranged in the order of the authors' names.

On the death of the late venerable Archdeacon Hale, for many years Archdeacon of London, and Canon Residentiary of the Cathedral, I was able to add to our Library the Pamphlets which he had collected, 1,405 in number. This collection I have

classified, bound, and indexed. The two series form, together, a not unimportant addition to the shelves of the Library: they are, of course, especially rich in contributions to the ecclesiastical controversies of the time over which they extend; but they are not limited to theology—archæology, history, politics are also represented.

At the last census which I took of the contents of the Library, I found that the collection comprised

Printed books	...	...	...	10,446
Pamphlets	...	...	...	10,730

—a very small collection, when compared with the treasures of the University Libraries, or the vast wealth of the British Museum: but yet not without a certain independent interest of its own.

I may add that the collection is worthily housed. The oaken presses round the walls are the original presses introduced at the erection of the present Cathedral by Sir Christopher Wren. The exquisitely-carved wooden brackets supporting the gallery, and the beautiful stone pilasters above it, are attributed to the famous carver, Grinling Gibbons.

A model representing part of the western front of the Cathedral has lately been placed in our Library. It was once in the possession of Richard Jennings, the master-builder of S. Paul's. Its history is recorded on a small brass plate let into the side:

“ This model of part of the West end of S. Paul's Cathedral was presented to the Vicar of Shiplake,

A.D. 1835 by Mr. J. Plumbe of Henley on Thames, who had purchased it from Badgmore House, once the residence of Richard Jennings the Master Builder of that Cathedral."

In a glass case in the centre of the room are exhibited a few special treasures, amongst which may be mentioned a MS. of the time of Henry VII. superbly bound in velvet, with silver bosses; a series of autograph signatures, royal (Charles II., James II., Mary, Anne, and her gracious Majesty the Queen), episcopal (Cranmer, Laud, Juxon), King Kamehameha of Hawaii, and if last, not least, Sir Christopher Wren; a series of casts of seals of Bishops of London, and of the Dean and Chapter; a chain which had once fastened the book to which it was attached to the shelves of the Library (two other books retain their chains); and a series of medals illustrative of the history of the Cathedral.



*THE TONSURE PLATE IN USE IN S. PAUL'S
CATHEDRAL DURING THE THIRTEENTH
CENTURY.*



CHAPTER III.

THE TONSURE-PLATE IN USE IN S. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL DURING THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.*



IN the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum is preserved a circular copper-plate, slightly convex on one side, and concave on the other, like one of the scales of a balance.† The convex side of the plate is quite plain; but on the concave side is engraved, very boldly, a lion rampant, *queue fourchée*. The plate is as nearly as possible three inches in diameter. It has evidently been, at some time or other, reduced in size, as the rampant lion engraved upon it has lost the right fore-foot and the left hind-foot, part of the right hind-foot, and the junction of the tail to the body. The plate itself is probably as old as the thirteenth century. Attached to the plate

* From a Paper read before the *British Archeological Association*, April 5, 1882.

† See Plate II.

52 *Tonsure Plate used in S. Paul's Cathedral.*

is a narrow strip of vellum, on which may be read (not without difficulty*) the following words:

“Ista est mensura seu forma coronarum officiorum ecclesiæ Sancti Pauli London ex primaria fundacione ejusdem ecclesiæ [assi]gn[ata]; et per diversos venerabiles patres Episcopos, Decanos, et Capitulum . . . ste conformata et observata.”

The purpose to which the plate was applied is thus rendered certain. It was the standard by which the tonsure of the clergy of S. Paul's Cathedral was regulated.

Dr. Rock† observes that, “of the ecclesiastical tonsure there were known to the Anglo-Saxons, in the early period of their Church, two distinctive shapes, the Roman and the Irish. The Roman form was perfectly round; the Irish was made by cutting away the hair from the upper part of the forehead, in the figure of a half-moon, with the convex side before. In this, as well as every other ritual observance, the Anglo-Saxons followed Rome, and adopted the form of tonsure for their clergy; but after, as well as before, S. Osmund's times, the canons of our national Church required her ministers to wear this mark of their clerkhood about them, that they might ever have in mind they were the servants of a crucified Master who wreathed His head with thorns for them.” The notes which Dr. Rock subjoins to this passage are very full of interest.

* I am much indebted to Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., for his help in the decipherment.

† *The Church of our Fathers*, i. 185-188.

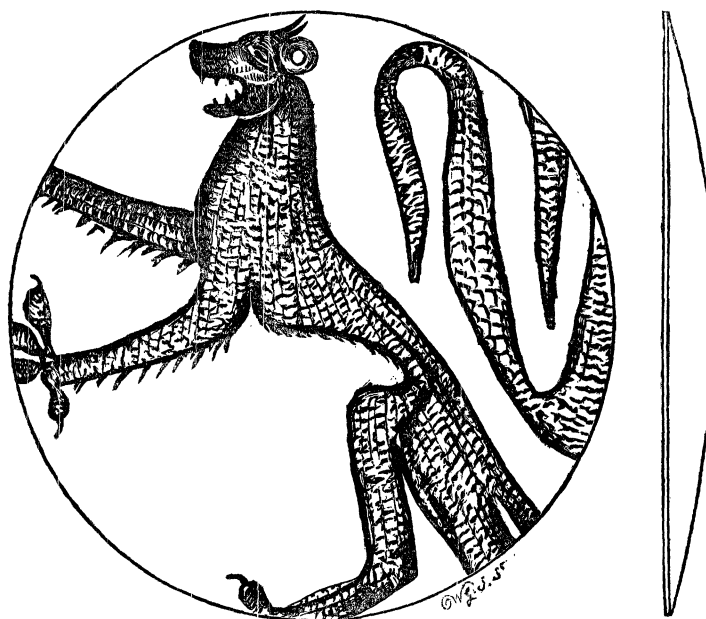


PLATE II.—TONSURE PLATE IN USE IN S. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL IN THE
THIRTEENTH CENTURY. (From the original in the British Museum.)

To face p. 52.

Archbishop Ecgberht, he says, traces the tonsure to S. Peter: "Peter the Apostle was the first to use the clerical tonsure, wearing upon his head the likeness of Christ's Crown of Thorns."

Amongst the canons enacted under King Edgar, the 47th provides that no man in holy orders shall hide his tonsure; and by the law of the Northumbrian priests it was ordained that "if a priest enwrap his tonsure, let him pay bōt for it;" that is, a fine.* He proceeds to relate that Abbot Ceolfred, in a letter written 710 A.D., to Naitan or Nectan, King of the Picts, allows us to see how the Roman and the Irish tonsures differed.†

Dr. Rock further explains that by the old English use the clerical tonsure consisted, rightly speaking, of two things: "1. The hair was shorn away from the top of the head in a circular shape, more or less wide, according as the wearer happened to be high

* Excerpt., *Ancient Laws*, ii. 124, 255, 297.

† "Quia Petrus in memoriam Dominicæ passionis ita attonsus est, idcirco et nos, qui per eandem passionem salvari desideramus, ipsius passionis signum cum illo in vertice, summa videlicet corporis nostri parte gestamus. . . . Formam quoque coronæ quam ipse [Dominus] in passione spineam portavit in capite, ut spinas ac tribulos peccatorum nostrorum portaret, id est, exportaret et auferret a nobis, suo quemque in capite per tonsuram præferre, ut se etiam irrisiones et opprobria pro illo libenter ac promte omnia sufferre ipso etiam frontispicio doceant; ut coronam vitæ æternæ quam repromisit Deus diligentibus se, se semper expectare, proque hujus perceptione et adversa se mundi et prospera contemnere designent. . . . Quæ [tonsura] in frontis quidem superficie, coronæ videtur speciem præferre, sed ubi ad cervicem considerando perveneris, decurtatam eam, quam te videre putabas, invenies coronam." —Beda, *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. v., cap. xxi., §§ 439, 440, curâ Roberti Hussey, 300, 301. The writer alludes in the last sentence to the tonsure worn by the Irish monks.

or low in Order. 2. The hair was clipped over the ears, and all about the neck, in such a way that from behind and on the sides it looked like a ring or crown around the head. On all our old English grave-brasses, and every other kind of pictorial monument, not only the tonsure as now understood, but the clerical cut of the hair is very marked."

Caxton, in the *Liber Festivalis*, speaking of Maundy Thursday,* says that in English it is called "Shere-thursday, for in old fathers' days the people would that day sheer their heads, and clip thair beards, and poll their heads, and so make them honest against Easter Day. On Sherethursday a man should do poll his hair and clip his beard, and a priest should shave his crown."

For a clergyman to wear his hair long was regarded as effeminate and worldly by the English canons. "The Council of London, A.D. 1342, blames the dressy clerk of those days":

"In sacris etiam ordinibus constituti, coronam quæ regni cœlestis et perfectionis est indicium, deferre contemnunt, et crinium extensorum quasi ad scapulas utentes discrimine, velut effœminati, militari potius quam clericali habitu induti."†

So far Dr. Rock has been our guide. The Statutes of S. Paul's Cathedral‡ are very strict upon this matter, and contain many references to the tonsure of its clergy. I will select a few of these:

* I am still indebted to Dr. Rock.

† Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii. 703.

‡ See *Registrum*, edited by the author of the present paper.

“DE TONSURA, HABITU, ET GESTU CLERICORUM.
—Ad hec omnes chorum intrantes si in tonsura vel habitu minus honesto aut gestu fuerint ex assueto reperti, nisi moniti, se compositos et correctos ostendant. In brevi nullatenus incorrecti tollerentur, cujuscumque ordinis, officii, vel dignitatis.”

“DE TONSURA.—Tonsuram insuper que deceat habeant honestam sine scrupulo angulari, crinibus ad rote speciem succisis.”

And again, in a later statute :

“Omnes insuper in choro dicte Ecclesie divinum ministerium prosequentes convenient in habitu decenti secundum congruenciam temporum, et decenter tondeantur, crinibus ad modum rote-subtilis sine scrupulo angulari; coronam eciam habeant secundum exigenciam ordinis sui latitudinis congruentis.”

A still more stringent statute declares, as the fourth Council of Carthage had decreed :

“Clerici comam non nutriant, set capud desuper in modum spere radant. (xxiii., D. *Prohibete*.) Non clericis liceat comam nutrire, set attonso capite et patentibus auribus incedere debent, ne capilli crescentes aures operiant xxiii^d non liceat. Longitudo enim capillorum multitudinem significat peccatorum, ideo in Cartagenensi Concilio statutum est, ut clerici neque comam nutriant neque barbam.”†

In the *Epistle of Pope Anicetus to the Bishops of Gaul*,‡ we find words to the same effect :

“Prohibete, fratres, per universas regionum vest-

* The reference is to the Decretals.

† *Registrum*, 28, 44, 47, 65, 66.

‡ *Concilia* (folio, Paris, 1644), i. 239.

rarum ecclesias, ut clerici, qui laicis et simplicibus, virtutis, honestatis, pudicitiae, et gravitatis exemplar esse debent, ac seipsos, tamquam signum purioris vitae, rudioribus ad imitationem prudenter exhibere, juxta Apostolum, comam non nutriant, sed desuper caput in modum sphaeræ radant; quia sicut discreti debent esse in conversatione, ita et in tonsura et omni habitu discreti debent apparere.”

The editor of the sumptuous edition of the *Concilia*, from which I am quoting, adds in the margin of this letter a reference to 1 Cor. xi.; and in a note on the words “in modum sphaeræ” says:

“Id est coronæ vel circuli, qui Patres et Concilia dum prædictis locis de tonsura clericorum aut monachorum loquuntur, eam communiter coronam nominant, propterea nimirum quod tonsura coronæ figuram habeat.”

Bishop Gibson, in his *Codex*,* gives a similar definition taken from Lyndwode's *Provinciale*:

“*Coronam*. Hoc est signum regni et perfectionis, cum sit circularis, carens angulo, in signum carentis sordium; quia ubi angulus, ibi sordes.

“*Tonsuram*. Signum quod prescindenda sunt vitia cordis et corporis, ne intuitum divinorum impedian.”

And in another place Bishop Gibson says:

“Nec alii clerici comam nutriant: sed honeste tonsi et coronati convenienter incedant, nisi forte justa causa timoris exegerit habitum transformari.”

Those who desire to study the matter more fully

* *Codex*, 2nd edit., i. 163, 166, and Lyndwode, 68, edit. 1769.

may well be referred to Bingham's *Antiquities*, book iv., chap. v., secs. 15, 16, 17; book vii., chap. iii., sec. 6; and to Mr. Mackenzie Walcott's *Sacred Archæology*, article "Tonsure."

Mr. Maskell points out* that a distinction is sometimes made between *tonsura* and *corona*, and that "when both are named, one must, doubtless, be understood to relate to the length of the hair, the other to the bare circle on the top of the head (the shaven crown)." He quotes from Lyndwode a gloss upon the words:

"*Tonsi.* Hæc tonsura sic fiet, ut aures sint patentēs. Et hoc, si religiosus sit, altius: si sæcularis, dimissius. Et sic, quod inter presbyterum et alios inferiores sit differentia."

"*Coronati.* Rasura superior, et tonsura inferior, faciunt de circulo capillorum coronam."†

An excellent article on the Tonsure, written by the Rev. F. E. Warren, D.D., Fellow of S. John's College, Oxford, will be found in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*. The writer points out that there were three distinct varieties of ecclesiastical tonsure:

"1. The Roman tonsure, associated with the name of S. Peter, which was formed by the top of the head being shaved close, and a circle or crown of hair being left to grow round it. In breadth this coronal tonsure was said 'to be like the golden crown which is placed on the head of kings.'"‡

* *Monumenta Ritualia*, 2nd edit., ii., *Introd.*, c., ci.

† *Lyndwode*, lib. iii., tit. 1.

‡ Isidore, *De Div. Off.*, ii. 4.

58 *Tonsure Plate used in S. Paul's Cathedral.*

"2. The Eastern or Greek tonsure, styled 'S. Paul's,' which was total. When Theodore was selected to be Archbishop of Canterbury (A.D. 668), he was obliged to wait four months to let his hair grow in such a manner as would enable him to receive the coronal tonsure in the Roman manner, 'for he had previously, as subdeacon, received the tonsure of S. Paul, according to the manner of the Easterns.'"*

"3. The Celtic tonsure known as 'S. John's,' in use in the Celtic Church of Great Britain and Ireland. It consisted in shaving all the hair in front of a line drawn over the top of the head from ear to ear. The Anglo-Saxon Church attributed this form of tonsure in use among their opponents to Simon Magus. Abbot Ceolfrid dissuaded the subject at length in his letter to Nectan, King of the Picts, A.D. 710.† Although not brought forward by S. Augustine either at 'Augustine's Oak' or at Bangor, this question of the shape of the tonsure formed the subject of the most frequent and violent controversy in England during the seventh and eighth centuries."

Mr. Warren examines briefly the alleged antiquity of the tonsure. He quotes the express authority of Hegesippus, who says of S. James, "upon whose head no razor was compassed";‡ and suggests that it is exceedingly improbable that the Apostles or

* Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, iv. 1.

† Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, v. 21. See *supra*, note to p. 53. The whole of Mr. Warren's article is well worth perusal. At the end of it a series of references to original authorities will be found.

‡ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 23.

their successors should, in time of persecution, have adopted an outward mark which would at once have led to their identification as leaders of a body whose members were liable to torture and to death.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., in his *Memorials of S. Guthlac*—a valuable contribution to hagiology, and to the history of Christian art—supplies an illustration of our present subject. An illumination which he figures represents S. Guthlac at the Monastery of Rypadun (now Repton), in Derbyshire, in the very act of receiving the tonsure.* “The Bishop, with his mitre, pastoral staff, embroidered and fringed stole, and ample surplice, holds in his right hand a veritable pair of shears, such as may be seen at any sheepshearing of the present time, with which he is cutting the hair from Guthlac’s head. Guthlac himself kneels to receive the ancient and important rite, in the foreground of the picture.”†

Mr. Maskell observes‡ that there is no evidence that the *modus faciendi tonsuras* can be traced higher than the seventh century. “Not that it can be disputed that the practice of distinguishing the clergy by their hair is of very high antiquity—first probably introduced to a moderate and seemly extent, for the sake of outward decency and gravity, according to the admonition of the Apostles; afterwards restricted within the limits of a certain fashion and shape.

* By Mr. Birch’s courtesy I am allowed to use this illustration as the frontispiece to the present volume.

† *Memorials of S. Guthlac*, p. xxxix.

‡ *Monumenta Ritualia*, 2nd edit., ii., *Introd.*, xcv.

The reason why the conferring of the tonsure came to be a separate and distinct office probably was because parents were accustomed to dedicate their children to the sacred ministry, and to leave them in monasteries, at an age too young to permit of their performing even the lowest functions of *Ostiarius* or *Lector*; when, nevertheless, it was desirable that a mark should be set upon them, that they were no longer merely secular."

At a late period, the tonsure was ordered to be given to those scholars who were to be educated at the expense of the Cathedral establishments throughout the realm. Cardinal Pole's legatine constitutions contain provisions relating to this matter.

Knyghton,* speaking of the horrible cruelties of the Scotch in the time of Edward I., says that they burned to death about two hundred *parvos clericulos*, little clerks; that is, children who had received the tonsure.

In an ancient *Ordo Romanus* there is an Office *ad puerum tonsurandum*; and, very much later, adults anxious to be free from the secular Courts were tonsured without any ordination.†

* *Monumenta Ritualia*, ii., *Introd.*, xcvi., xcix.

† Addis and Arnold, *A Catholic Dictionary*.



*STAINED GLASS WINDOWS IN THE
CATHEDRAL.*



CHAPTER IV.

STAINED GLASS WINDOWS IN THE CATHEDRAL.

SO little is known about the stained glass windows of the old cathedral, that it seems worth while to collect together some of the scattered notices to be found in printed books or manuscripts.

The Continuator of Stow describes a royal visit to S. Paul's on mid-Lent Sunday, 1620, and in the course of his narrative observes that three great windows of the church had then been recently glazed. But we will let him speak for himself :

“The next Sunday being Midlent Sunday, the King in great state came from White-hall to *Paules* Church, accompanied with Prince *Charles*, many of the chiefe Nobility, and seauen or eight Bishops, and at Temple barre, the Lord Maior, Aldermen, and Recorder, receiued him, and presented him with a purse of gold, and from thence attended him to *Paules*, the streets being rayled on both sides, and the seuerall Companies of London in their seuerall

64 *Stained Glass Windows in the Cathedral.*

places, in their Liuries and Banners, gaue their attendance all the way to *Paules*.

“The King entred in at the great West dore of *Paules*, where he kneeled, and hauing ended his Orisons, he was receiued by the Deane and Chapter of that Church, being all in rich Copes, the Canopy was supported by the Archdeacons of the Diocesse, and other Doctors of Diuinity, being also in rich Copes. The Gentlemen of the Kings Chappell, and the Quire of *Pauls*, were likewise all in rich Copes, and so with solempne singing brought the King into the Quire, through which he went into his trauerse* which was set vp for that purpose on the South side of the high Altar: and being then three of the clocke, they began to celebrate Diuine seruice, which was solemnly performed with Organs, Cornets, and Sagbots. The euening prayer being ended, the King was conducted thence to a prepared place, and heard the Sermon at the Crosse, where the Bishop of London preached; his text was the hundred and second Psalme, the 13 and 14 verses.† The Sermon being ended, the King obserued the greatnesse and state of that Church, and three great Windowes newly glazed, in rich colours, with the story of Saint *Paul*, and then went into the Bishop’s Palace, where he was entertained with a Banquet, and about six of the clock he returned to White-hall. The Lord

* *Traverse*: Halliwell, amongst other senses of the word, gives “a moveable screen: a low curtain;” and Nares, “a barrier, or a sliding door, or moveable screen.”

† Psalm cii. 13, 14, Prayer-book: “Thou shalt arise, and have mercy upon Sion, for it is time that Thou have mercy upon her, yea, the time is come. And why? Thy servants think upon her stones, and it pitieth them to see her in the dust.”

Maior, Aldermen, and Recorder, attended him to Temple-barre, and there tooke their leaue, vnto whom the King gaue very gracious speeches."

The scene is so graphically described, and the details so interesting—the procession, the canopy, the vestments, the processional singing—that no apology is needed for the transcription of so long a passage: although it adds to the subject of this present chapter, only the fact that King James was taken to see "three great Windowes newly glazed, in rich colours, with the story of Saint *Paul*."

It may be added that the sermon preached by Bishop King on this occasion, the King of Preachers, as James I. was wont to call him, is printed, and that a copy of it is to be found in the Cathedral Library. It is very well worth reading.

A second notice, it may perhaps relate to the same windows, is found in the address *To the Reader* in H. Holland's *Ecclesia Sancti Pauli illustrata*. The volume is dedicated to Laud, then Bishop of London, and the edition here cited was issued some thirteen years* after King James's visit.

"And now we are speaking of monuments; verily, memorable was the Monument that Mr. William Parker, a worshipfull and deuout citizen gaue, for the beautifying and new glazing the Windows in the North Side of the Chancell. But more memorable and most worthy commemoration is the great cost that an honourable and deuout knight hath lately bestowed in and about the Quire of this Cathedrall

* H. Holland, *Ecclesia, etc., The Monuments, etc.* London, 1633.

66 *Stained Glass Windows in the Cathedral.*

Church : in hanging the Quire and high Altar place with rich Cloth of Tapistrie, and in beautifying and repairing the Quire and the Entrance into the Quire, erecting the Statues of 6 Kings* and 3 Bishops,† with Pillars and Pillasters of blacke Touch or Marble; which Kings and Bishops had beene builders and Benefactours to the Church. Nor is it to be forgotten the late sumptuous new repairing and gilding of the Organes, done at the cost of the Church.”

Michael Shawler's *Note-Book*‡ supplies a few additional particulars relating to other windows in the Cathedral.

But perhaps the most important notice is that which is found in a manuscript in the Lansdowne Collection compiled by Henry S. George, *Clarencieux Herald*, and Nicholas Charles, *Lancaster Herald*, about the year 1609.§ These unimpeachable authorities have given drawings of nearly thirty coats of arms then standing in the windows of the north and south sides of the choir.

The most interesting of these sketches forms the illustration to the present chapter.|| It represents two windows which “stand directly ouer agaynst the tombe of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster,” with which, indeed, it is very closely connected.

* King Æthelbertus, King Athelstanus, King Edgar, King Canutus, King William Conquerour. Here are only five.

† Bishop Erkenwaldus, Bishop Mauricius, Bishop Ric. Beauvois, *alias* Beames.

‡ See chapter v. of the present volume.

§ *Lansdowne MS.*, 874, Brit. Mus. ; *Plut.*, lxxix. D., fo. 115b.

|| See Plate III.

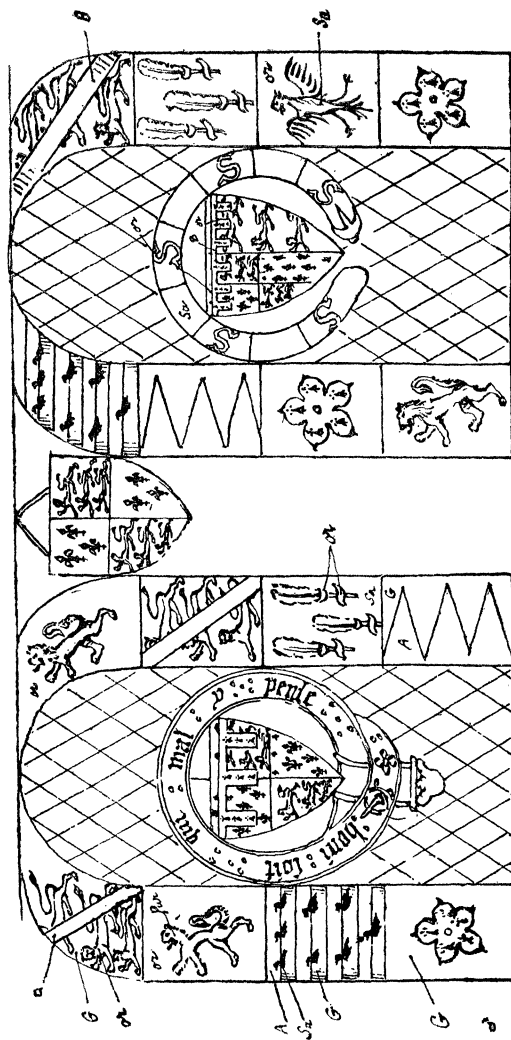


PLATE III.—STAINED-GLASS WINDOWS IN OLD S. PAUL'S.

To face p. 67.

Stained Glass Windows in the Cathedral. 67

The two windows chosen for illustration exhibit the following arms :

In the midst of the dexter light :

1. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster.
France and England quarterly, with a label of three points ermine (of Brittany). The shield is within a garter, with the motto :
Honi soit qui mal y pense.

In the midst of the sinister light :

2. John of Gaunt, impaling the arms of his first wife, Blanche of Lancaster. This shield is surrounded by a Collar of SS.

The other coats contained in the two lights are :

3. Henry, third Earl of Lancaster.
England, differenced with a bendlet azure.
4. Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln.
Or, a lion rampant purpure.
5. De Chaworth.
Barruly argent and gules, an orle of martlets sable.
6. Leicester.
Gules, a cinquefoil ermine.
7. John of Gaunt.
Sable, three ostrich feathers ermine, the quills and scrolls or.
8. Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester.
Per pale indented argent and gules. For the Honour of Hinkley in Leicestershire.

68 *Stained Glass Windows in the Cathedral.*

9. Richard, Earl of Cornwall, as Emperor.

Or, an Eagle displayed sable.

Other coats of arms tricked in the manuscript from which the illustration is taken, as then standing in the Cathedral windows, are these :

10. Hugh de Pourte (Sheriff of London, *ob.* 11 Edward II.).

Azure, crusilly or, two fishes hauriant endorsed argent: on a chief gules, three leopards' heads of the second.

11. Radulfus de Hengham.

Gules on a fess or three hurts.

12. Roksley of Kent.

Azure, a fess gules, between six shields sable, each charged with a lion rampant argent.

13. Roksley—probably some other branch.

Azure, a fess gules, between two shields sable, each charged with a lion rampant argent.

14. Poynings.

Barry of six or and vert, a bend gules.

15. Middleton (Lancashire).

Argent, a saltire engrailed sable.

16. Family not identified.

Azure, a covered cup or, between four buckles of the last.

17. Family not identified.

Azure, a fess argent between three buckles of the last in chief and a lion passant guardant in base.

18. Braman.

Gules, on a fess or, three pellets.

19. France.

Azure, semée of fleurs de lis or.

20. Family not identified.

Azure, a fess indented argent, in chief three covered cups or, in base a trefoil of the last.

21. Ferre, De Molines or Molyneux.

Gules, a cross moline argent, over all a bend azure.

22. Family not identified.

Azure, a cross moline or, in chief and in base a martlet of the last.

23. Family not identified.

Sable, a chevron argent, between three martlets or.

24. Perhaps for Kynan Herdryffe.*

Azure, three crowns in pale or.

25. Percy, or Dengaine.

Azure, a fess indented or.

26. Scrope.

Azure, a bend or.

27. Freshacre.

Azure, five fishes hauriant or, 2, 1 and 2.

28. Monthalt.

Gules, a fess indented ermine.†

* Of a Welsh family : see pedigree in *College of Arms*.

† See note on page 76.

In further illustration of the subject, I proceed to reprint in its entirety a rare Tract, which I have recently procured for the Cathedral Library. It contains many allusions to the Cathedral windows, and is so quaint, and so full of interest in the light of recent discussions, as fully to justify its appearance here.

Separatist allows the portrait of Queen Elizabeth to stand in the painted windows, but objects to the picture of the Redeemer, and will not hear of such "fabulous Idolls" as pictures of S. Peter, S. Paul, or of the Crucifix. The *Protestant* defends them. In the disputes of to-day, the *Protestant* does not attack the painted windows, but takes up the rôle of *Separatist*, so far as the sculptured representation of Scriptural events is concerned. It is to be supposed that he too, like *Separatist*, would not object to a statue of Queen Elizabeth.

The Arraignement of Sypersstitution, or A Discovrse betweene a Protestant, a Glasier, and a Separatist. *Concerning* The pulling downe of Church - Windowes. Shewing, The good minde of the Protestant, the Indifference of the Glasier, and the puritie and zeale of the Seperatist.

London, Printed for T. B. and F. C. 1641.

A Dialogue or discourse betweene a Protestant, a Glasier, and a Separatist.

Separatist.

Come honist *Glasier*, we must crave your ayde
To helpe us pull these popish windowes downe,
And set new glasse for which you shall be payd,
For sure the Lord on us for them doth frowne
And truely brethren should we let them stand,
I feare 'twill bring a terrour to this land.

Stained Glass Windows in the Cathedral. 71

Glasier.

I hope not so Sir, these are ancient things
That long have stood in former ages past
Since Churches were, at least, since Christian Kings
Had government, they still in Churches last,
Least by mishap some cracks or peeces shatter'd,
But now it seemes they all must downe be batter'd.

Seperatist [sic].

What should they else, they doe but barre the light
The Lord hath sent, and trouble much our sight
That scarce at noone day we can see to read
The holy Bible for the paint and lead,
'Tis like a popish tabernacle painted,
I doe not like a thing so much besainted.

Protestant.

When these old windowes were at first new painted
'Twas to adorne, and the Church in seemely way
Whereas you say they are so much besainted,
'Tis but the pictures of the saints not they,
But yet I thinke if they were saints indeed,
You'd pull them downe, or else you'd make them bleed.

Glasier.

Sir, you say true, and truely in my minde,
A day will come, when some will pay for all,
For if old time, againe should turne the wind,
And papistry into our land recall,
Where they should come againe to say their masses,
They'd wish us hang'd, for pulling downe their glasses.

Separatist.

'Tis no matter, what waigh we their wishes,
Houres will grow you know where serpents hisses,
And light will shine to us that truth doth handle,
While they in darknesse sit, and hold the candle ;
Give us the light, let them in darknesse masse it,
'Tis now our right, when it's theirs, let them new glasse it.

Protestant.

This is even just according to this world,
What's mine, mine owne, and no man is the better,
But when I am dead, and in my grave is hurl'd,
Wher's then my right, or who is then my debter ;
What in this world we doe unjustly grapple,
I feare it's next,* t'will make our bones to rattle.

* Probably the text should stand "I feare i' the next."

72 *Stained Glass Windows in the Cathedral.*

Glasier.

Me thinkes 'tis pittie ancient monuments
Because their popish ; that's the harme they doe,
Should from the Churches thus be torne and rent,
Then pull downe Churches they are popish too ;
For surely they were built in popish times,
And still are guilty of some popish signes.

Protestant.

Glasiers be merry, golden dayes are come,
Drinke off old sherry, let your diamonds run
On white and greene, no yellowes, blewes, nor reds,
Shall dim your sights, or trouble more your heads ;
'Tis better ordered till the day of doome,
We banish collers to the sea of Roome.

Separatist.

But yet not so I doe not like that way,
Fearing the Pope, a masse for us should say ;
And we be gilty their Idolatry,
Should so be dam'd to hell eternally ;
Therefore to barre the dangers that may fall,
'Tis better breake them into peeces small.

Glasier.

Nay better then us glasiers them detaine,
For being broke, they will doe no man good,
They may perhaps in time come up againe,
And we may pitch them where before they stood,
For sure 'twill vex our heads thrice more to make the
Then now it will your consciences to breake them.

Protestant.

Were I a Glasier, sure now I might live
With ruines of Church windowes, and might give
A yearely pention to those hungary soules
That dayly walke within the Church of Poules,
And make Saint *Peter* from the painted glasse,
Through cleare white day to see an English masse.

Glasier.

Were you a Glasier it would vex your minde,
To see such curious windowes broken heare,
Seeing they hurt no man in any kinde ;
And sure they cost our ancient fathers deare,
But were Saint *Peter* heere set with Saint *Faule*
You'd pull them downe, nay Crucifix and all.

Stained Glass Windows in the Cathedral. 73

Separatist.

What's *Paul* or *Peter* unto any heere,
Or what's the crucifix, or *Mary's* peere ;
Why should we suffer in our Church to stand,
Such fabulous Idolls made by mortall hand
The Lord forbids it, and we must obey,
Fearing least people unto them should pray.

Protestant.

See heer's the picture of our Gracious Queene
Elizabeth of famous memory,
Which picture is in many Churches seene,
As a memoriall to eternitie :
It is no Idoll, yet by mortall hand,
'Tis marv'le your zeale will suffer it to stand.

Separatist.

Sir, that's a picture that may well deserve
(For that the Church she did so well preserve,
From popish errors, and from other crimes)
A lasting memory in all our times,
Should we that picture seeke for to deface,
We wrong our Church, likewise contemne his grace.

Glasier.

Sir, let me aske you one thing by the way,
Is not our Saviour Christ head of his Church ;
And doth not he preserve it night and day,
From all invading enemies, foule lurch
Yet we his picture from his Churches rase,
And thinke thereby we doe him no disgrace.

Protestant.

Me thinkes it is a comely desent thing,
To see our Saviours picture in the Church
And Saints in every light or window seene ;
The more to adorne and beautifie this Church,
For in my minde, that place would best beseeme
A Saviours picture, then a pictured Queene.

Separist [sic].

The Lord defend me, thou art one of hope,
And, an adopted son unto the Pope,
Thy faith is feeble, and thy state is weake,
Thou dost so fondly and prophanely speake,
Truly I feare the Lord hath thee forsaken,
Thou art so much with popish reliques taken

74 *Stained Glass Windows in the Cathedral.*

Protestant.

It seemes all's popish that's not like to you,
Sir, we are Protestants, Professors true,
Of Christian faith, though we seeme not to rase
These antient thinges, our Churches to deface ;
For sure our fathers lived in Popish daies,
(Long before we) that first these things did raise.

Separist.

You saile too far upon the Popish sea,
Your ship is Cract, your ankor at decay,
Your sailes are faire, yet made of rotten Cloath,
Your mast is high, and for to stoope 'tis loath,
But it must bend, the Lord sayes, they that climbe
Vnlesse by faith, will fall in a short time.

Protestant.

Sir, your deceived we doe not love to climbe,
Though we have faith, but love not to presume,
And we have hope will bring us home in time,
Whilst you at rovers saile to meete the moone
Your faith's Ecliptst your hope is fled 'tis strang
Your charitie and zeal should love to range.

Glasier.

Perhappes their gone to some Astronomer
To *Ananias* or some other mate,
If faith be such and hopes weake stomake wamble,
Then charitie and Zeale may well goe ramble.

Separist.

Learned and prophane sonnes to iniquitie,
To leere a man of Zeall and pietie,
The Lord will curse such superstitious fooles,
And cast them out from *Ananias* Schoole :
I thinke you some of Romes imperious store,
Who loves the paynted Glasse loves Idoles more.

Protestant.

Proud Brother peace, the print plac'd in Glasse,
Shewes better farr, then in your sisters face,
Which if upon themselves they did bestow,
You'le love them well, yea you will love them too,
And if the spirit move that think't amisse,
Vpon them to bestow a holy Kisse.

Stained Glass Windows in the Cathedral. 75

Separist.

Blasphemous words from superstitious tongue,
Had ever pietie and Zeale such wronge
By superfluous and prophane report,
Thus to revile the annoynted of the Lord,
Trvely Ile leave such children of the Devill,
Fearing the Lord should curse me for your evill.

Glasier.

What need these irnes, you talke of proclamation,
Impiety, and thinges not now in fashion,
End your foule faction, heere amend
What is amisse on both sides, doe not spend
Your Talents Idely, let an end be made,
Live by your Zeale, and I will by my trade.

FINIS.



76 *Stained Glass Windows in the Cathedral.*

NOTE TO CHAPTER IV., PAGE 69.

Other coats of arms occurring in the Cathedral will be found in Dugdale, and in—

Thomas Dingley's *History from Marble* (Camden Society). 2 vols., 4to., London, 1867-8.

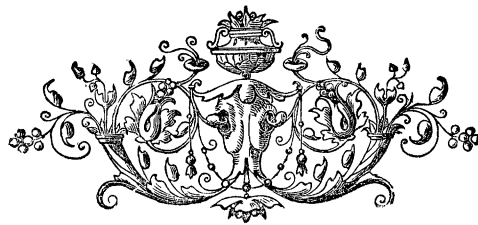
Payne Fisher, *The Tombs, Monuments, and Sepulchral Inscriptions lately visible in S. Paul's Cathedral and S. Faith's under it*. 4to., London, n.d., about 1683.

John Weever, *Antient Funeral Monuments*. Several editions. 4to., London, 1631, 1661, and 1767.

Valentin Arithmaeus, *Mausolea Regum, Reginarum, Dynastarum, Nobilium, Sumtuosissima, Artificiosissima, Magnificentissima, Londini Anglorum in Occidentali Urbis angulo structa, etc.* (pp. 123-144 relate to S. Paul's). 4to., Francof. Marchion. [Frankfort-on-the-Oder], 1618.

Sandford, in his *Genealogical History of the Kings of England*, p. 244 (folio, 1677), observes that

"The arms of *Blanch*, of *Lancaster* . . . impaled with this of *John*. Duke of *Lancaster*, her Husband, . . . were painted in a Glass-Window directly opposite to the Tomb of the said Duke *John* in the Cathedral of *S. Paul*, penes *H.S. Esq.*, *Monum. of Burials and Arms*, etc., p. 127."



A VIRGER'S NOTE BOOK.



CHAPTER V.

A VIRGER'S NOTE-BOOK.



THE custody of the material fabric of the Cathedral devolved, in great measure, upon a useful body of men, the Virgers : *Servientes, Virgiferarii*, as they are called. Their duties are set forth at some length in the *Statutes* of S. Paul's,* as compiled by Deans Baldock and Lisieux ; the former of whom held the Deanery from 1294 to 1305,† the latter from 1441 to 1456. The method of their selection was that upon a vacancy amongst the Virgers, the Treasurer nominated a fit and proper person to the Dean, by whom the appointment made by the Treasurer was confirmed.

The duties of the Virgers were, as may be supposed, very numerous and varied. I will proceed to exhibit an account of their multifarious labours in the form of a very bald and literal translation from the *Statutes*.

* A series of *Statutes* relating to these officers will be found in the *Registrum Statutorum et Consuetudinum*, 71, 72, 91, 109, 124, 140, 141.

† Ralph de Baldock was Bishop of London from 1305 to 1313.

Three in number (four, if the Dean's Virger be included), they fulfilled their office in the church during successive weeks; observing the canonical hours both day and night, and taking heed that the bells were duly rung. They received their stipends out of the ten marks disbursed by the Sacrist, and had besides their victuals from the Dean and Chapter. They were probably the *custodes ecclesiæ*, whose duty it was to know the various modes of ringing the bells of the church, so that the peals proper for different services might be duly rung; these peals were of importance, not only because they pointed out to the dwellers in the Close the character of the Divine Service in which they were about to engage, but were also of great use to many in the City, who, earning their bread by the labour of their hands, were accustomed to regulate their hours of toil by the bells from the Cathedral tower. Besides these three Virgers there is also a fourth, called the Dean's Virger, who ranks above the other three :* and who is the *Ostiarius* of the Lower House of Convocation. The four Virgers appeared in a *compotus* of the year 1286.

It was their duty to guard the church diligently, not leaving the care of it to one Virger only; to open the doors of the church early in the morning, and to close them in the winter when the bell tolled for Compline, in the summer at the ringing of the

* In a rental of the year 1667, preserved in the Chapter House, the Dean's Virger receives the following payments :

His Fee for keeping the Upper Door of the Choir	. 3s. 4d.
For keeping the Chapter House Door	. . . 13s. 4d.

Curfew,* after which hours the doors must not be opened, save for very urgent causes. When daylight began to fail they lit the lamps. When the doors were closed they made a careful search throughout the church to see that no thieves or evil-doers were secreted there. At matins, after the *Gloria Patri* of the first Psalm, they were to close the western entrance of the Choir, especially during disturbances of the kingdom or city, so as to avoid various dangers. They must take care that their cowls were not hanging about their necks when they were performing their duties in the Choir or about the Altar, nor might they walk with uncovered heads through the Choir in presence of the Canons. When the greater Feasts drew near they must take heed that the pavement was diligently swept, and the dust and cobwebs removed. They must obey the Sacrist and do that which he commanded. Women of ill-fame, porters, beggars, minstrels indevoutly making a noise before the altars of the Virgin and of the Holy Cross, they must drive from the Church. They must carry the silken copes and vestments from the vestibule to the Choir, and bear them back again, folding and carefully replacing them. They must cleanse the churchyard when processions were about to pass through it. No other service could excuse them from their duties in the church. If they broke

* The curfew continued to be rung in Dean Donne's time. He says in his *Devotions*, "It is not in man's body as it is in the city, that when the bell hath rung to cover your fire and rake up the embers, you may lie down and sleep without fear."—Donne's *Devotions*, 8vo., London, 1840.

the covers or clasps of the service books, they must replace them at their own cost. By them the graves in the churchyard were dug, at fees fixed by statute ; and, in general, they were not to allow anyone who did not wear the habit of the church to be buried in the lesser cemetery. On the Feast of S. Michael they surrendered their staves to the Dean and Chapter, receiving them again if their conduct had been satisfactory ; otherwise the Dean and Chapter removed the offenders from their places. They kept the door of the Chapter-house. They were not to suffer carriages to pass through the southern and eastern churchyards, but were to guard the entrance of the churchyards with chains. (A street on the south side of S. Paul's is still called Paul's Chain.) They should daily vest the Minor Canons, Deacons, and Sub-deacons.

One of the Virgers has distinguished himself above his fellows by compiling a very interesting memorandum book, intituled :

“ Michael Shaller's Note Book of such things as past in his time in the Church.”*

The greater part of the volume will be set forth in the present chapter.

Michael Shawler, or Shaller,† has not only made his own notes, but has taken care to preserve original letters from the then Dean, Alexander Nowell,‡ from

* Its Press-mark amongst the Cathedral Records is W.D. 32.

† In 1566 Mighell Shaller was “ Vnderchamberlein ” to the “ Deane and chapter of Powles,” for whom he received certain pensions then due.

‡ Alexander Nowell was Dean from 1560 to 1602.

Sir Henry Sidney, and from Sir Christopher Hatton : and if the whole collection be only a tiny rill flowing into the great stream of the Cathedral history, yet still some of the materials are well worthy of notice.

Grouping together these documents into chronological order, as far as that is possible, the first* presents "The Ordre for the Obsequies to be holden in Powles Church for the late Emperor ferdinandus."

Stow briefly refers to the celebration in his *Annales* :†

"The second of October in the afternoone, and the morrow in the fore-noone, a solemne obsequie was holden in Saint *Paules* Church in London, for Ferdinando late Emperour departed."

In Strype's *Life and Acts of Archbishop Grindal*‡ is a fuller account, naming certain of the persons present, and supplying some details of the solemnity. "The funerals," he says, "of the Emperor Ferdinand, lately deceased" (he died July 25, 1564)§ "were appointed by the Queen to be celebrated in S. Paul's Church, as was customarily done in those days out of honour to the neighbouring crowned heads, which was done accordingly, October 3. There was erected for the solemnity in the Choir an hearse richly garnished, and all the Choir hung in blacks, with the escutcheons of his arms of sundry sorts." The most important persons present were the Mar-

* The document itself will be found in the Appendix, lettered A.

† Stow, *Annales*, 4to., London, 1631, p. 658*b*.

‡ Edition, Oxford, 1821.

§ Froude, *History*, viii. 94.

quis of Winchester, representing the Queen; the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London and Rochester, "attended with the Dean of S. Paul's and the whole College there;" the Earls of Sussex and of Huntingdon, and many other nobles. The sermon was preached by Edmund Grindal, then Bishop of London, from the text in S. Matthew xxiv.: *Therefore be ye also ready, for the Lord will come at the hour which ye think not on.* It was printed by John Day, dwelling over Aldersgate, and is described by Strype as being "the only discourse of our Bishop, except one, that saw the light," and as being a piece of great rarity. It will be found amongst the *Remains* of Archbishop Grindal, edited for the Parker Society.* Appended to the sermon is a list of the principal mourners and assistants present at the ceremonial.

Amongst the State Papers is a letter from Dean Nowell to Sir William Cecill in reference to a claim made by the officers of the Great Wardrobe to certain pieces of coarse cotton, with which the walls of the Choir of S. Paul's were hanged at the exequies performed for the late Emperor. He prays that such claim may be disallowed, as these hangings are the perquisites of the inferior officers of the Church.†

These may be thought very small matters, scarcely worth chronicling, and yet they illustrate Nowell's character. His readiness to take up the case of the

* By the Rev. W. Nicholson, pp. 1-33. Day dates his issue, "VIII. of November, 1564."

† *Calendar State Papers*, vol. i.; *State Paper Office*, Eliz., vol. xxxv., Oct. 19, 1564.

"inferior officers of the Church," even in the matter of their perquisites, bespeaks a man of kindly spirit, mindful of the rights of lesser people.

Another State Paper gives an account of the charges for celebrating the obsequies of the late Emperor Ferdinand in London, with the names of the creditors and the sums due to each.*

That functions of this nature were costly will appear from the following Bill of Charges for the Obsequies of Henry II. of France, held in the Cathedral, September 8 and 9, 1559. Strype has printed it in his *Annals* :†

	£	s.	d.
The garnishment of the hearse came to	80	13	3
The majesty	97	18	1
The helmet, mantlets, sword, etc.	14	0	6
The carpet of velvet for the communion table	16	13	4
Banners and pensils	168	8	2
Hangings, covering the ground in the chancel	48	4	4
Duties of S. Paul's Church	13	6	8
The charge of black cloth for all the mourners and other officers	251	13	8
Charges of dinner	38	3	11
Hire of the hearse	6	0	0
Reward to the clerk of the wardrobe	5	0	0
Offerings	0	17	4
The dole	10	0	0
	<u>750</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>3</u>

The *second* document is endorsed "ffees for the Vergers of Powles, at the Obsequy of Charles the French Kinge. 1574."

Stow in his *Annales* says, "The 7. of August, a

*. *Calendar State Papers, Domestic*, 1547-1580, p. 245, vol. xxxiv. lxi. Certain additional expenses brought the total amount up to £789 10s. 10d.

† Strype, *Annals*, I. i. 188.

solemne obsequie was kept in Saint Pauls Church at London, for *Charles* the Ninth, King of France, who being poysoned, deceased on the 30. of May last before passed;" that is, in 1574. The King is memorable for the part which he played in the massacre of S. Bartholomew, concerning which, as Strype observes,* "observations could not but be made of the ends of some of the chief authors and actors therein. To say nothing of Charles the French King, who died not long after by strange bleeding, Dr. Valentine Dale, who was the Queen's Ambassador in France the year after this, in a letter then writ to the Earl of Sussex, related 'how it was said that Marshall Tavaness died *ex morbo pediculari*, which is much noted,' said he, 'because he was one of the greatest persecutors in the massacre.'"

A "brief Declaration of the charges of the Diets at the celebration of the French king's Obsequies at S. Paul's stating the various kinds of provisions, and prices charged" is preserved amongst the State Papers.†

The "Manner of the late Funerall Exequy" is detailed in a paper amongst the *Cottonian Manuscripts* printed in Dugdale's *History of S. Paul's*,‡ where, however, an unexpected difficulty is encountered.

In 1585 Henrie Midleton printed a collection of "Sermons made by the most reuerende Father in

* Strype, *Life of Parker*, edition, Oxford, 1821, ii. 133.

† *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. xcvi.

‡ Dugdale, *History of S. Paul's*, 433.

God Edwin [Sandys] archbishop of Yorke.”* The ninth of these Sermons is entitled “A Sermon made in Pauls at the solemnization of Charles the Ninth the French Kings Funeral.” Sandys was then Bishop of London: and it is curious to observe how carefully he avoids treading upon difficult subjects. He speaks of “this mighty King, this great prince, Charles the French King, whose funeral we now celebrate;” he observes that “this glorious flower is faded and fallen away:” but not a syllable escapes him about the terrible massacre—so far as the Sermon is concerned S. Bartholomew’s Day might never have been. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*. He is honest, however, and does not flatter. Silence was safe. Perhaps, also, it was wisest.

But now the difficulty arises.

The Sermon is printed as the “Sermon made in Pauls,” etc.: but the author of the paper preserved amongst the Cotton MSS. says, “then began the Sermon made by the Bishop of Heref. in the rome of the B. of London then beinge sicke.” The Bishop of Hereford was the well-known John Scory.

Who is to be believed? The circumstantial evidence of the printer, Henrie Middleton, or the definite statement of the Cotton MS.?

It is possible that Sandys may have written the sermon, and at the last moment passed it over to Scory for delivery.

Or is there a confusion between these obsequies

* Reprinted in the Parker Society’s Publications. Sandys’ *Sermons*, 161-176. Sandys was successively Bishop of Worcester, Bishop of London, and Archbishop of York.

and those of Henry II., King of France, solemnized on September 8 and 9, 1559, when Bishop Scory of Hereford did certainly preach.*

Michael Shawler's papers relate to some of the hangings of the Cathedral, and probably also to certain black gowns to which the Virgers were entitled on such occasions.

ARTICLE 2. *a.*

MR. PARAMOR

Wheras clviij yards of black bayes iiij yards di. quarter of black cloth and xi yards of black cotton were redelivered to you to the quenes vse, and now by my Lord Tresurers order lx yards or therabowts are to be delivered to the virgirs of our Church. If you will make a bill for the rest besids that which they shall have, I will deliver yow your bill ageyn.

Thus fare you hartely well, the first of marche 1574.

Y^r loving frynde

THO. WATTS.

The Virgers claimed lx yards of bayes and Shawler xj yards of cotton.

ARTICLE 2. *b.*

M^d. that the thre Comon Vergers of the Cathedrall church of S^t. Pawle in London hadd and Receyvèd by the Commaundement of the Lord Treasurer and S^r Walter Myldmay Knight, of the offycers of the Quenes ma^y great Warderobe in London the Bayse and Cotton that did hange the quere and Chauncell from the steps downe ward at the obsequy of Charles the ffrenche Kinge 1754.

ANTHONY WALKER.

RIC. PARAMOUR.†

The next group of papers relates to the monument and funeral of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, who died at York House on the 20th (or 21st) of February, 1578-9.

The "very noble monument" of Sir Nicholas

* Strype, *Annals*, I. i. 187, and Milman, *Annals*, 2nd edition, 261.

† Endorsed: "ffees for the Vergers of Powles at the Obsequy of Charles the ffrench Kynge. 1574."—Shawler's *Note-Book*, folio 5.

Bacon "of the ancient family of the Bacons in Suffolk," stood betwixt the choir and the south aisle. It is well represented in Dugdale's *History*.* Part of the figure of the Lord Keeper still remains, lying on a modern altar tomb in the crypt at the eastern end of the existing cathedral. "Himself famous, more famous as father of his greater son."†

It is to be presumed from the correspondence now printed, that the monument was commenced in the lifetime of Sir Nicholas. First comes an undated letter signed by Dean Nowell and Jo. Mullyns, authorizing Mr. Shawler to allow the Lord Keeper's workmen access at all convenient times to the south aisle of the choir to carry out the works necessary for the erection of the monument.

ARTICLE‡ 3. *a.*

After my hartie commendations vnto yow good Mr. Shawler thes are to will yow in the name of the Deane and Chapter of ovr church, that yow doe suffer my Lord Keeper his workemen to haue accesse at all tymes conuenient into the south syde of the queare at Powles, ther betwene the twoe pillers, which are next aboute the queare dore of that syde, to take downe such yren worke and stone worke as shalbe conuenient to make rowme for his Lordships toombe there to be sett vppe; to the good and speadie accomplyshinge wherof I pray yow see that the sayd workemen may haue both free accesse, and quiett contynuaunce; and this my wrytinge shalbe yo^r sufficient discharge herein. See we pray yow, such yren worke and stone as shalbe taken downe to be kept in safftye.

Yo^r Lovyng frendes

ALEX. NOWELL

JO. MULLYNS.

* Dugdale, *History of S. Paul's*, 33, 50, 213.

† Milman, *Annals*, 2nd edition, 378.

‡ Endorsed: "The Deane of Poules his letters to Mr. Shaller to suffer the workemen to haue accesse into the said Church aboute the Lo; Keeper's Tombe."—Shawler's *Note-Book*, folio 11.

The second letter, an autograph, in Dean Nowell's hand, dated 4th August, 1576, possibly a few days only after the first, gives a similar authorization, adding powers to remove such "yron and stone worke as shalbe convenient to make rowme for his Lordships toombe."

ARTICLE 3.* *b.*

After my hartie commendations vnto yow good M^r. Shawler and other your felowes, thes are to will yow and them, in the name of the Deane and Chapter of ovr Church that yow doe suffer my Lord Keep' his workmen to haue accesse at all tymes conuenient into the southe syde of the queere at Powles : and ther betweene the twoe pillers which are next aboue the doore of that syde to take downe suche yron and stone worke as shalbe conuenient to make rowme for his Lordships toombe ther to be sett vppe to the good and speady accomplyshing wherof I pray yow see that the sayd workemen may haue both free accesse and quiett contynuanee : and this my wryting shalbe your sufficient discharge herein. See I pray yow suche yren and stone as shalbe taken downe to be kept in safftie. Thus I take my leave, commendynge yow vnto the grace of allmyghtie Godde. 4. August. 1576.

Your lovyng frende

ALEX. NOWELL.

The third document in this group (it will be found in the Appendix†) is a bill of

"fees due to all the Officers and Members of
Powles for the buriall of the Lo : Keeper."

It is in Mr. Shawler's handwriting and is annotated by Dean Nowell. It is endorsed: "To the right woorshyppfull S^r Nicolas Bacon, Knight, and other the exeqtors of my L. Kep^t." This Sir Nicolas Bacon was the son of the Lord Keeper, who had been knighted at Norwich on the 22nd of August, 1578.

* No endorsement. Shawler's *Note-Book*, folio 6.

† See Appendix B.

The *fourth* group of documents comprises a similar series relating to another important memorial.

The first of these is an autograph letter from Dean Nowell, giving authority to Mr. Shawler to allow the Earl of Pembroke's workmen to erect a monument in the Cathedral, to the Earl's father, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. The monument itself is figured in Dugdale,* and the inscription given *in extenso*. A very fine tomb it is, with recumbent figures and lofty canopy, in the debased style of the age.

ARTICLE 4.† *a.*

After my hartie comendations vnto yow good Mr. Shawler, whereas the right honorable the Earle of Pembroke is mynded to sett vpp hys fathers Tombe in o^r Churche beneth the Tombe of John of Gante some tyme Duke of Lancaster, thes are to certifye yow, that vppō condition, that the vaults and Pyllars of o^r churche be not hurte or indangered therby, and that the breadth of the sayd Tombe doe not exceade the breadth of the late L. Kep's Tombe, I am well contented, and soe I thinke my brethren of the Chaptre wyll lykewyse be well pleased, that the sayd Tombe may be soe erected theare. And therof I thought good to certifye yow, trustinge that yow by sufficient bonds taken of the Woorkemen, wyll provyde for the indemnitie of o^r churche, and soe I byd yow hartely well to fare the 29. of Julie. 1581.

Yo^r Loving frende
ALEXANDER NOWELL.

The second document is an original letter from Sir Henry Sidney to a Mr. Joseph—"Good Mr. Joseph"—to whom the letter would be presented by Mr. Shawler, giving instructions relating to a stained glass window to be placed on the north side of the chancel, over against Lord Pembroke's tomb.

* Dugdale, *History*, 59 and plate.

† No endorsement. Shawler's *Note-Book*, folio 7.

ARTICLE 4. *b*.*

This Windowe was new glased at the proper costs and charges of S^r. Henry Herbert Knight of the most noble order of the garter, lord Herbertt of Cardiff Marmyon and Seint Quintine and Earle of Pembrock in the xxvth yere of the raigne of o^r most deare soueraigne ladie Elizabeth Queene of Englande ffraunce &c And in the yere of o^r lord god 1583, w^{ch} said Henry in that yere And in the yere precedent caused the rare and memorable monuement and tombe of his noble father William Earle of Pembrock Lord Herbertt of Cardiff and Knight of the most noble order of the garter to be erected and fynished.

Good Mr. Joseph I requier yow to cause thise to be perfectlie well to be sett forth in a table of glasse to be placed vnder the Skutchion of Armes of thearle of Pembrock which yow have to doe and sett vp in the Windowe of the north side of the Chauncell of Pawles over agaynst the Tombe of thearle, And likewise that yow cause to be made A table with the grene dragon and another with the porcupyne to be placed in the two side rundells and what shalbe in the middle rundle I am not yett resolved. I require yow geve creaditt to the Bringer hereof my good freind Mr. Shaller And what charge yow shalbe at Above my Lord of Pembrocks covenante for this that I have wrott to yow of make me your debtor and I will see yow satissfied. ffrom the Courte at Grenew^{ch} the xxijth Daie of Maye, 1583.

Yo^r lovinge ffreind

H. SIDNEY.

Endorsement : Touchinge therle of Pembroks tombe in Powles.

Article 6 is an original letter from Sir Henry Sidney, sealed with an armorial seal of eight quarterings appointing Michael Shawler keeper of the Pembroke Tomb; and assigning to him an annual payment of xxvj^s viij^d for his labour in that behalf, "in the clenlie and neate kepinge" of the said tomb.

ARTICLE 4. *c*.†

Whereas motion and request was made vnto me S^r Henrie Sydney Knight by the right honourable Therle of Penbroke my most deire and lovinge sonne to fynde owt some carefull and dilligent man to take the charge of the clenlie and neate kepinge of his fathers tombe latelie erected in the Northe Isle of the Chauncell of the Cathedrall church of

* Shawler's *Note-Book*, folio 9.

† *Ibid.*, folio 10.

St. Paule in London And havinge fownde owte suche a man to agree with him for a yerelie fee and entertaynement in recompence of his trauell and paines employed for that purpose. Theise are to notifie to all men to whom theise presentes shall come that I haue made speçall choise of Michael Shaller one of the vergers of the saide churche and clerke of the workes there to supplie that office and charge whoe likewise hathe the ouersight and dealinge for the clensing and kepinge of the tombes of the late L. Kepp' and others. And he to haue for his paines for that seruice by waie of fee and rewarde xxvj^s. viij^d. by the yere duringe his naturall lief. The same fee to be paide vnto him or his assignes at Barnardes castle half yerelie by equall portions. And the payment to begine and take commencement from midsomer An^o. 1582 and to contynewe duringe his naturall lief if it maie soe like Therle of Penbroke thereunto to assent and agree. In wittnes of w^{ch} conference and agrement made and concluded betwixt the saide Shaller and me for the seruice aforesaide I haue hereunto sette my hande and seale the xijth of Julie 1583 the xxvth yere of her maties most gracious raigne.

H. SYDNEY.

The *fifth* document is a letter signed by Sir Christopher Hatton, and others, directing the Virgers to make an inventory of the timber, lead, iron, tools of iron, and other provisions which had been gathered together "towards the re-edifyinge of the steeple." The steeple had been destroyed by fire in 1561.* The inventory made by three Virgers "Myhell Shawler, Robarte Lankthorne, and Rycharde Gwyen" on November 9, 1584, is relegated to the Appendix of the present volume. (Appendix C.)

To borrow Dean Milman's words:† the fire of 1561 had thoroughly aroused the Citizens. "The Lord Mayor at once recognised his duty. The flames were hardly extinguished, when men were set to work, the most skilful that could be found, to take measures for the immediate repair of the

* See *Chapters in the History of Old S. Paul's*, 134-142.

† Milman, *Annals*, 282, 283. From Stow's *Survey*, 6th edition, 645.

damage. The restoration proceeded rapidly, under the active care of the Chief Magistrate, who personally superintended the works, with 'men of knowledge' to overlook the workmen. In one month a false roof was erected to keep out the weather. By the end of the year the aisles were covered in and roofed over with lead. During the next year the great roofs of the west and east end had been prepared with large timbers framed in Yorkshire, brought by sea, set up, and covered with lead. The north and south transepts were covered by the end of April, 1566.

"The church was so far restored that, on the 1st of November, 1561, the Mayor and Aldermen and all the crafts of London, in their liveries, went to the Cathedral with a vast retinue (eighty men carrying torches); the Lord Mayor tarried the sermon, which lasted into the night (a November night), and returned home by the light of the torches."

The visit to S. Paul's in 1561, is recorded by Machyn:* "[the j day of November went to Saint Paul's the lord mayor] and the althermen at afternoon and all the crafts of London in ther levereie, and with iiij^{xx} men all carehyng of torchys, and my lord mare [tarried until] nyght, and so whent home with all torches, for my lord mare tarried the sermon; my lord of London, [*i.e.* Bishop Grindal] mad the sermon; but yt was latt, [and so] there torchys was lyght to bryng my lord home."

"The steeple, however, remained in ruins, and so

* Machyn's *Diary*, 271.

continued during the reign of Elizabeth; and, in fact, never was re-erected. The repairs in the time of James I. and Charles I. were confined to other parts of the building. Queen Elizabeth was extremely angry that the repairs of the steeple were not carried on. The excuse was that her Majesty's subsidies pressed so heavily on the city, that time was absolutely necessary. The City promised speedy attention to her Majesty's commands, but nothing was done."*

ARTICLE 5.†

After our hartie commendacons. Where it doth appeare that after the finishing . . . woorks and repaire of Powles, there was certaine tymber, leade, iron, be . . . Tooles of iron, weightes of brasse, and divers other provisions made for . . . works remayninge aswell in the store house, ould plummerie, and newe plummerie, as also in Powles over against the clocke house, and in other places which are to be vsed and employed as occasion shall require towards the reedifyinge of the steeple : And wher John Owie late Bellringer of Powles had the charge thereof in his life tyme, and sithence no person that we vnderstande appointed to looke ther vnto. We haue therfore thoughte it fit to appoincte and commaunde you, ioyntly together to take care and charge of all and euerie the said remaynes, and forthwith to make veiwe and survey therof, and to sett the same downe particulerlie in writinge for vs to peruse whensoever we shall haue occasion to require the same. ffurther willinge and commaundinge you to make diligente serche and enquirie whether anie the saide remaynes, since the finishinge of the said works, accordinge to an Inventorie herwith sente you, haue bene sould, carried awaie, embeseled, or employed, and if anie haue so ben then by whome, howe, and in what sorte and by whose permission commaundemente. And therof to make Certificats trulie and plainlie in all poincts vnto vs as you will answeere the contrarie at your perills. So fare you well. London this xiith of October 1584.

Yor louinge ffrendes
CHR. HATTON

C. WRAY
BAR. CLERK

G. GERRARD
VALEN : DALE
THO. FFRENCHAM
PET. OSBORNE

The vergers of Powles

* Milman, *Annals*, 283.

† Shawler's *Note-Book*, folio 12.

Article 6 is of somewhat more general interest. It is a petition from the Virgers and other officers of the Cathedral, who are "humble orators" in this matter, to the worshipful the newly-elected serjeants-at-law. It appears that at the call of serjeants, that worshipful body had been accustomed to resort, after dinner, to the Cathedral: on which occasion they had made their presence peculiarly agreeable to the Virgers by presenting them with suitable douceurs. The Virgers humbly pray that so excellent a custom be not discontinued.

Probably the document belongs to the year 1567: for on "the 24. day of Aprell, beyng Thursday, the Sargaunts feaste was kepte at Greys In, nere to Holborne, and aftar dynner the new Sargaunts, being 7 in nombar, cam in theyr gowns, hoddys, and coyves, to Seynt Thomas of Ackars, nere to the great Conduite in Cheape, and from thens to Seynt Pawls, and in bothe placis observyd serimonys, and then went in the same order into Flete Strete, and then departyd to theyr severall lodgyngs."*

ARTICLE 6.†

The thre vergers of Powles with other officers there, are humble orators to the worshipfull the Serieants at the lawe of newe elected as followeth.

Maie it please your worshippes that at such tyme as the worshipfull call of Serieants have bene vpon their cominge to Powles after dynner, in respect of the provision and paynes takinge by the said vergers and officers, it hath pleased their worshippes of their benevolence vpon the humble sute of the said officers to geve and yeld consideracon & reward to them in that behalf, accordinge therfore to the said Lawdable

* Stow's *Memoranda* in *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, edited by Jas. Gairdner for the Camden Society, 142.

† Shawler's *Note-Book*, folio 15.

Custome wee, the said officers doe humbly crave at your worshippes handes the contynewance of the same, with such considera^{co}n to either of vs as shall seeme good to your worshippes, and wee shall remeyne your humble Orators to almighty god for the prosperous contynewance of your worshippes long to contynewe.

In another hand :

They tell me that thei had at the last election xs

ROBTE : JERMYN.

Endorsed : The peticon of the Vergers of Powles for their fees of the newe elected Seriants at the lawe at their cominge to Powles.

Article 7 is a petition in relation to some rights, real or supposed, of the Virgers ; who claim to receive of every Prebendary who becomes a Residentiary "meat, drynke, and one lyuery," or else "bord wages by the space of one hole year" immediately following. The charges on becoming a Residentiary varied considerably from time to time, statute after statute having been passed with a view to reduce the matter to some order : and it is not at all improbable that the Virgers had some ground for their contention. The result of the petition not being recorded, it seems natural to infer that it was unsuccessful.

ARTICLE 7.

To the Right worshipfull the Kyngs Maiestyes Visitours of his Cathedrall chirch of Paules.

Pleasethe it your good Worshipes that wher we the thre vergifers of the cathedrall chirche of Paules haue bene accostomed to haue and receyue of euery prebend att his enteringe into residence within the saied chirche meat, drynke, and one lyuery or ells bord wages by the space of one hole yere next his enterynge, of your goodnesse to know whither we shall stonde to and abyde to the old statutes and costomes or els to be ordeyned by your worshipes ordeynaunces and appoyntement, and ye shall bynd vs to pray for your worshipes prosperouse welfare longe to contynewe.

Endorsement : "Md. Thes 2 notes are to be written in the first 2 leaves of y^e book of matters touchinge y^e vergers of Paules."

It was not for the first time that an appeal had been made to Cæsar on the question of the charges to be paid by the Residentiaries of S. Paul's. Bishop Braybroke carried through some extensive reforms against the opposition of the Chapter. The common fund had grown rich, and, by consequence, the Canons were anxious to become Residentiaries, that they might share in the dividends. The governing body, however, hit upon an ingenious device to exclude these eager recruits. "The Canon who would become a Residentiary was obliged to pay six or seven hundred marks, to be spent in feasting. So the Residentiary Chapter had sunk down to only two. The affair was brought before the King for his arbitration, and steps were taken to remedy the abuse." The story may be read in Dean Milman's *Annals of S. Paul's*.

A mark is thirteen shillings and fourpence. Six hundred marks is equivalent to four hundred pounds. If we multiply this by fifteen, as Dean Milman suggests, to obtain the present value which that sum would represent, we arrive at the large amount of six thousand pounds: a sufficiently deterrent fine.



*PLAYS ACTED BY THE CHILDREN
OF PAUL'S.*



CHAPTER VI.

PLAYS ACTED BY THE CHILDREN OF PAUL'S.

IN Warton's *History of English Poetry** is the following passage: "So early as the year 1378, the Scholars, or Choristers, of S. Paul's Cathedral in London presented a Petition to Richard II., that his Majesty would prohibit some ignorant and inexperienced persons from acting the *History of the Old Testament*, to the great prejudice of the Clergy of the Church, who had expended considerable sums for preparing a public presentation of that play at the ensuing Christmas. From *Mysteries* this young fraternity proceeded to more regular drama; and at the commencement of a theatre were the best and almost only comedians. They became at length so favourite a set of players as often to act at Court; and on particular occasions of festivity were frequently removed from London, for this purpose only, to the Royal Houses at some distance from town. This is

* Reprint of the edition of 1778-81, Section xxxiv., 579-61.

a circumstance in their dramatic history not commonly known. In the year 1554, while the Princess Elizabeth resided at Hatfield House, in Hertfordshire, under the custody of Sir Thomas Pope, she was visited by Queen Mary. The next morning, after Mass, they were entertained with a grand exhibition of bear-baiting, with which their Highnesses were right well content. In the evening, the great chamber was adorned with a sumptuous suit of tapestry, called the hanginge of Antioch; and after supper, a play was presented by the Children of Paul's.* After the play, and the next morning, one of the Children, named Maximilian Poincs, sung to the Princess while she plaied at the Virginalls.

“Strype, perhaps from the same manuscript *Chronicle*, thus describes a magnificent entertainment given to Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1559, at Nonsuch, in Surrey, by Lord Arundel, her Majesty's Housekeeper, or Superintendent, at that Palace, now destroyed. I chuse to give the description in the words of this simple, but picturesque, compiler: ‘There the Queen had great entertainment, with banquets, especially on Sunday night, made by the said Earl; together with a mask, and the warlike sounds of drums and flutes, and all kinds of musick till midnight. On Monday was a great supper made for her; but before night she stood at her standing in the further park, and there she saw a

* “Who, perhaps, performed the play of *Holofernes* the same year, after a greate and rich maskinge and banquet, given by Sir Thomas Pope to the Princess, in the greate Hall at Hatfield.”—*Life of Sir T. Pope*, 85.

Course. At night was a play by the Children of Paul's and their master Sebastian.* After that a costly banquet, accompanied with drums and flutes. This entertainment lasted till three in the morning. And the Earl presented her Majesty a cupboard of plate.'

"In the year 1562, when the *Society of Parish Clerks* in London celebrated one of their annual feasts, after morning service in Guildhall Chapel, they retired to their Hall: where, after dinner, a goodly play was performed by the Choristers of Westminster Abbey, with waits, and regals, and singing.† The Children of the Chapel Royal were also famous actors, and were formed into a company of players by Qu. Elizabeth, under the conduct of Richard Edwards, a musician and a writer of *Interludes*. All Lilly's plays, and many of Shakespeare's and Jonson's, were originally performed by these boys;‡ and it seems probable that the title given by Jonson to one of his comedies, called *Cynthia's Revels*, first acted in 1605 by the Children of her Majesty's Chapel, with the allowance of the Master of the Revels, was an allusion to this establishment of Qu. Elizabeth, one of whose romantic names was *Cynthia*. The general reputation which

* Sebastian Westcott, "Mr. of the Children of Polls." Cunningham, *Revels at Court*, xxvii., xxviii., xxix., xxxi.

† Strype's *Survey*, Book V., 231.

‡ They very frequently were joined by the choristers of S. Paul's. It is a mistake to suppose that these were rival companies; and that because Jonson's *Poetaster* was acted in the year 1601 by the boys of the Chapel, his antagonist, Decker, got his *Satiro Mastix*, an answer to Jonson's play, to be performed out of opposition by those of S. Paul's. Lilly's *Court Comedies*, and many others, were acted by the children of the choirs in conjunction.

they gained, and the particular encouragement and countenance which they received from the Queen, excited the jealousy of the grown actors at the theatres; and Shakespeare, in *Hamlet*, endeavours to extenuate the applause which was idly indulged to their performance, perhaps not always very just, in the following speeches of Rosincrantz and Hamlet :*

“ ‘ *Rosin.* There is, Sir, an ayry of Children, little Yases,† they cry out on the top of question; and are most tyrannically clapt fort : these are now the fashion, and so be-rattle the common Stages (so they call them) that many wearing Rapiers, are afraid of goose-quils, and dare scarce come thither.

“ ‘ *Ham.* What are they Children? Who maintains em? How they are escoted?‡ Will they pursue the Quality no longer then they can sing?’

“ And again :

“ ‘ *Ham.* Doe the Boyes carry it away?

“ ‘ *Rosin.* I that they do my Lord, *Hercules* and his load too.’

“ This was about the year 1599.

“ The latter clause means : ‘ Will they follow the profession of players no longer than they keep the voices of boys, and sing in the Choir?’ So Hamlet afterwards says to the player :

“ ‘ Come, give us a tast of your quality.
Come, a passionate speech.’

* *Hamlet* : *Actus Secundus, Scena Secunda*. I have taken the quotation not from Warton, who cites the passage inaccurately, but I have followed the text of the second folio.

† *Eyas* : a young hawk recently taken out of the nest.—Halliwell.

‡ *Escoted* : paid, supported.—Halliwell.

Some of these, however, were distinguished for their propriety of action, and became admirable comedians of the Theatre of Blackfriars."

The extract from Warton is of great length, but it supplies an excellent introduction to the subject. A discussion of the points which it raises may well occupy the chapter, and, little as there may be to show for it, some considerable research has been necessary to gather together even this small mass of material.

Is it possible to determine exactly what is meant by the term *Children of Paul's*, in every place in which that form of words is used? Certainly it is not possible. Sometimes it means the Children of the Choir School of the Cathedral, or, in other words, the Choristers; sometimes the Children of S. Paul's School, the noble foundation of Dean Colet.

If the question could have been determined, a decisive answer would certainly have been given to it by the Rev. J. H. Lupton in his admirable and scholarly *Life of Dean Colet*, a work whose pure English, and whose antiquarian accuracy, makes its perusal a delight. Mr. Lupton, however, is content to say, that "the question who are meant by the *Children of Paul's* in the frequent accounts of Interludes, Plays, etc., during the reign of Henry VIII., and his successors down to James I.'s time, is a complicated one, which there is not space to enter into here. It may suffice to say that there is evidence of their being sometimes taken from Dean

106 *Plays acted by the Children of Paul's.*

Colet's School, and sometimes from the other S. Paul's."* The name of the Master of the Boys will sometimes determine the question; where this is not given, the question must generally remain open.

Amongst the names most frequently found as Masters of the Boys are the following:

MASTERS OF THE CHOIR SCHOOL.

Thomas Mulliner.

Sebastian Wescott, 1559†—1576.

Thomas Gyles, 1585‡ and 1588.

Edw. Kerkham, 1596.§

Edw. Piers, 1601.

Mr. Pearson, 1633.||

HIGH MASTERS OF S. PAUL'S SCHOOL—

i.e., DEAN COLET'S.¶

John Ritwise, 1522—1532.

Richard Mulcaster, 1596—1608.

Other Choirs, besides those of S. Paul's and the Chapels Royal, enacted plays before the Sovereign.

In 1487, the Choir Boys of Hyde Abbey and S. Swithin's Priory acted *Christ's Descent into Hell* before Henry VII.

In 1584, "the Earle of Oxenford his boyes" played before Queen Elizabeth at Greenwich.

Whilst in 1617, a masque called *Cupid's Banish-*

* Lupton, *Life of Colet*. London, 1887, 159, 160.

† Cunningham, *Revels at Court*, xxvii.

‡ Collier, *Annals of the Stage*, 265; see note in Cunningham, 221.

§ Cunningham, *Revels*, xxxviii. Kerkham received the appointment of "Yeoman, or Keeper of our Vestures or Apparel."

|| *Calendar State Papers*, vol. ccxxxvi.

¶ Gardiner, *Admission Registers of S. Paul's School*, 20, 29.

ment was presented before her Majesty (Anne, Queen of James I.), by "Younge Gentlewomen of the Ladies' Hall in Deptford at Greenwich, the 4th of May."*

The Children of the Black Friars also had a good reputation as actors. They are recorded to have played a Comedy by Edward Sharpham, "acted at the Black Friars by the Children of the Revels," with many other pieces, as is set forth in Halliwell's *Dictionary of Old English Plays*.

The theatrical children were sometimes kidnapped, by rival masters, no doubt. One of the boys of Sebastian Westcott, in this manner, was carried away from him, and on December 3, 1575, the Privy Council wrote "a letter to the Master of the Rolls, and Mr. Dr. Wilson; that whereas one of Sebastian's boys, being one of his principall players, is lately stolen, and conveyed from him; they be required to examine such persons as Sebastian holdeth suspected, and to proceed with such as be found faulty according to law and the order of the realm."†

A detailed and very interesting account of a play acted by "the boys of S. Paul's School" in 1527, at Greenwich, is given by Froude,‡ who cites Hall's *Chronicle*, and adds some interesting particulars from a manuscript preserved in the Record Office.

The occasion was the despatch of a French

* Halliwell's *Dictionary*, etc., 48, 5, 66, 44.

† Chalmers' *Apology*, 363.

‡ *History*, i. 73-76, edit. 1867. See also *Notes and Queries*, series ii., vol. ii., 24, 78.

embassy to England, when Europe was outraged by the Duke of Bourbon's capture of Rome, when the children of Francis I. were prisoners in Spain, and Henry, with the full energy of his fiery nature, was flinging himself into a quarrel with Charles V. as the champion of the Holy See :

“ At the conclusion of a magnificent supper, ‘ the king led the ambassadors into the great chamber of disguisings ; and in the end of the same chamber was a fountain, and on one side was a hawthorne tree, all of silk, with white flowers, and on the other side was a mulberry tree full of fair berries, all of silk. On the top of the hawthorne were the arms of England, compassed with the collar of the order of S. Michael, and in the top of the mulberry tree stood the arms of France within a garter. The fountain was all of white marble, graven and chased ; the bases of the same were balls of gold, supported by ramping beasts wound in leaves of gold. In the first work were gargoyles of gold, fiercely faced with spouts running. The second receipt of this fountain was environed with winged serpents, all of gold, which griped it ; and on the summit of the same was a fair lady, out of whose breasts ran abundantly water of marvellous delicious savour. About this fountain were benches of rosemary, fretted in braydes laid on gold, all the sides set with roses, on branches as they were growing about this fountain. On the benches sate eight fair ladies in strange attire, and so richly apparelled in cloth of gold, embroidered and cut over silver, that I cannot express the cunning workmanship thereof. Then when the king and queen were set, there was played

before them, by children, in the Latin tongue, a manner of tragedy, the effect whereof was that the pope was in captivity and the church brought under foot. Whereupon S. Peter appeared and put the cardinal (Wolsey) in authority to bring the pope to his liberty and to set up the church again. And so the cardinal made intercession with the kings of England and France that they took part together, and by their means the pope was delivered. Then in came the French king's children, and complained to the cardinal how the emperour kept them as hostages, and would not come to reasonable point with their father, whereupon they desired the cardinal to help for their deliverance; which wrought so with the king his master and the French king that he brought the emperour to a peace, and caused the two young princes to be delivered.' So far Hall relates the scene, but there was more in the play than he remembered or cared to notice, and I am able to complete this curious picture of a pageant once really and truly a living spectacle in the old palace at Greenwich, by an inventory of the dresses worn by the boys and a list of the *dramatis personæ*.

"The school-boys of S. Paul's were taken down the river with the master in six boats, at the cost of a shilling a boat—the cost of the dresses and the other expenses amounting in all to sixty-one shillings.

"The characters were :

An Orator in apparel of cloth of gold.

Religio, Ecclesia, Veritas, like three widows, in garments of silk, and suits of lawn and cyprus.

110 *Plays acted by the Children of Paul's.*

Heresy and False Interpretation, like sisters of
Bohemia, apparelled in silk of divers colours.
The heretic Luther, like a party friar, in russet
damask and black taffety.
Luther's wife, like a frow of Spiers in Almayn,
in red silk.
Peter, Paul, and James, in habits of white
sarsnet, and three red mantles, and lace of
silver and damask, and pelisses of scarlet.
A Cardinal in his apparel.
Two Sergeants in rich apparel.
The Dolphin and his brother in coats of velvet
embroidered with gold, and capes of satin
bound with velvet.
A Messenger in tinsel satin.
Six men in gowns of grey sarsnet.
Six women in gowns of crimson velvet.
War, in rich cloth of gold and feathers, armed.
Three Almeyns, in apparel all cut and holed in
silk.
Lady Peace in lady's apparel white and rich.
Lady Quietness and Dame Tranquillity richly
beseen in lady's apparel."

Three years later, says Froude, "Wolsey lay
dying in misery, a disgraced man, at Leicester
Abbey; the *Pope's Holiness* was fast becoming in
English eyes plain Bishop of Rome, held guilty
towards this realm of unnumbered enormities, and
all England was sweeping with immeasurable velocity
towards the *Heretic Luther*."

The *Children of Paul's* experienced the changing
fashions.

Plays acted by the Children of Paul's. 111

"Prior to the year 1591," says Collier, in his *History of the Stage*, "but how much earlier cannot be ascertained, the performances by the Children of Paul's in their singing School were suppressed. Malone asserts, unqualifiedly, that this event occurred in 1583-4 (see Note on *Hamlet*, Act II., Sc. 2); but the earliest authority on the point is dated 1591, viz., the address of the printer before Lyly's *Endymion*, published in that year. 'Since,' he says, 'the plays in Paul's were dissolved, there are certain Comedies come to my hands,' speaking as if it were a recent event."*

This "interdict was removed prior to 1600, because a piece called *The Maid's Metamorphosis* was 'acted by the children of Powles' and printed in that year."†

In 1626, it was thought inconsistent with their religious duties that the boys should act stage plays. "Provided always," says a Commission for taking up well-singing boys for furnishing the Royal Chapels, "Provided always, and We do straightly charge and command, that none of the said Choristers or children of the Chappell, soe to be taken by force of this Commission, shalbe used or imployed as Comedians or Stage Players, or to exercise or acte any Stage plaies, Interludes, Comedies, or Tragedies, for that it is not fitt or desent that such as should sing the praises of God Almighty should be trained or imployed in such lascivious and profane exercises."‡

* Collier, *History of the Stage*, 279-80.

† *Ibid.*, 342.

‡ Collier, ii. 16, and Rimbault, *Old Cheque-Book of the Chapel Royal*, viii., ix.

The cost of these Entertainments must have been considerable. In Cunningham's *Court Revels* will be found abundant details as to the outlay upon dresses, furniture, and stage properties.

In *A Breif Estimati of all the Cārges against Cristmas and Candellmas ffor iij Plays at Wyndsor* in the reign of Queen Elizabeth is the following entry, relating to charges incurred in the month of "Ienevery" 1564 for certain "playes by the grammar skolle of Westmynster and the childerne of Powles wages or dieatts of the Officers and Tayllors Mercers and other provicions," the outlay upon which amounted to £8.6.8; and in the Appendix to the present volume will be found a short list of similar payments.*

Is it possible to compile a full and accurate list of the plays performed by the children of Pauls? To this question, also, a negative answer must be given. But it is believed that the list now given is accurate *as far as it goes*. No play has been admitted into the list unless it bears upon the title-page a statement that it was acted by the Children of Paul's; or unless such a statement is made on its behalf by that great Shakespearean critic and courteous gentleman, Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps,† lately deceased; or unless evidence has been adduced in some other quarter which seemed definite and satisfactory.

It will be observed that in 1877 a play was acted

* Appendix D. Taken, as the above extract is, from George Chalmers' *An Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare Papers which are exhibited in Norfolk Street*, 356-363, 8vo. London, 1797.

† In Halliwell's *Dictionary of Old Plays*.

Plays acted by the Children of Paul's. 113

at the Choir School, the libretto having been written and the music composed by two of the Minor Canons of the Cathedral.

LIST OF PLAYS ACTED BY THE CHILDREN OF PAUL'S.

Abuses : 30 July, 1606, before James I., and the King of Denmark. "The youthes of Paules, commonly called the children of Paules, plaide before the two Kings a play called *Abuses*, containing both a comedie and a tragedie, at which the Kinges seemed to take delight, and be much pleased."

Alcmæon : 27 Dec., 1573, before the Court at Whitehall, "playde by the children of Powles on Saint Johns Daye at night there."

Alexander and Campaspe : by Lyly, before Queen Elizabeth, on Twelfth Night; printed in 1584.

Antonio's Revenge : by J. Marston; printed in 1602.

Ariodante and Genevora : acted in 1582 at Court, before Queen Elizabeth, on Shrove Tuesday, by Mr. Mulcaster's children.

Blurt, Master Constable, or The Spaniard's Night-Walk : by Thomas Middleton, printed in 1602.

Cupid and Psyche : by Chettle, Decker, and Day. This play is sometimes called *The Golden Ass*.

Dido : said to be composed by one of the Fellows of King's College, Cambridge (perhaps John Right-wise), acted before Queen Elizabeth in the chapel of the College in 1564. Also acted by the Children of Paul's before Wolsey. [*Sic* in Halliwell.]

Endimion, and the Man in the Moone : by John Lyly. Acted before Queen Elizabeth at Greenwich; printed in 1591.

114 *Plays acted by the Children of Paul's.*

Error, The Historie of: "Shoven at Hampton Court on Newyeres daie at night," 1576-7.

Galathea: by John Lyly. Played before Queen Elizabeth at Greenwich on New Year's Day: printed in 1592. The scene is laid in the North of Lincolnshire.

Iphigenia: translated into Latin in the sixteenth century by John Lumley. Acted on Holy Innocent's Day, 1571.

Jack Drum's Entertainment; or, *The Pleasant Comedy of Pasquil and Katherine*: printed in 1601, and reprinted in R. Simpson's *School of Shakespeare*.

King Marigold: words by Rev. H. C. Shuttleworth, music (not printed) by the Rev. W. Russell; acted at S. Paul's Choir School, Christmas, 1877.

Love's Metamorphosis: by John Lyly; first played by the Children of Paul's; printed in 1601.

Mad World, my Masters, A: by Thomas Middleton; printed in 1608; played by the Children, and "often acted at the Private House in Salisbury Court by her Majesties Servants."

Maid's Metamorphosis, The: by John Lyly; printed in 1600.

Marriage of Mind and Measure, The: "Shewen at Richmond, on the Sondaie next after New Years daie, enacted by the Children of Pawles," 1579.

Michaelmas Terme: by Thomas Middleton; printed in 1607.

Midas: by John Lyly. "Plaied before the Queenes Majestie, upon Twelfe Day at night." Printed in 1592.

Mother Bombie: by John Lyly; printed in 1594.

Necromantes; or, *The Two Supposed Heads*: by William Percy; written about 1602.

Plays acted by the Children of Paul's. 115

Nobody and Somebody : printed in 1606, reprinted privately (only fifty copies) 1877, and again in R. Simpson's *School of Shakespeare*.

Northward Hoe : by Thomas Decker and John Webster ; printed in 1607.

Phoenix, The : by Thomas Middleton ; printed in 1607.

Pompey : acted in 1580-1.

Puritan, The ; or, *The Widow of Watling Street* : one of the seven plays erroneously attributed to Shakespeare ; printed in quarto in 1607 ; and in the Fourth Folio Shakespeare, 1685.

Sapho and Phao : by John Lyly ; printed in 1584 ; played before Queen Elizabeth on Shrove Tuesday.

Satiro Mastix ; or, *The Untrussing of the Humorous Poet* : by Thomas Decker ; printed in 1602.

Scipio Africanus : "Shewen at Whitehall the Sondaye night after Newe Yeares daie, enacted by the Children of Paules," 1580.

Titus and Gisippus, The Historye of : "Shewen at Whitehall on Shrove Tuysdaie at night, enacted by the Children of Paules," 1576.

Trick to Catch the Old One, A : by Thomas Middleton ; acted both at Paul's and Blackfriars ; printed in 1608.

Westward Hoe : by Thomas Decker and John Webster ; printed in 1607.

Wisdom of Dr. Dodipole, The : printed in 1600.

Woman Hater, The : by John Fletcher ; printed in 1607.

It will be observed that no less than six of these plays are written by John Lyly, that "Rare and Excellent Poet, whom Queen Elizabeth heard,

Graced, and Rewarded." A poet "whose Tunes alighted in the Eares of a great and ever-famous Queene. His Inuention was so curiously strung, that *Elizaes* Court held his notes in Admiration," says Edward Blount in his *Epistle Dedicatorie* to the *Sixe Court Comedies** "often Presented and Acted before Queen ELIZABETH by the Children of her Majesties Chappell and the Children of Paules, written by the onely Rare Poet of that Time,† The Wittie, Comicall, Facetiously-Quicke, and vnparalleled John Lilly, Master of Arts."

To attempt any critical judgment upon these plays, so many and so varied, is as much outside the scope of the present volume as it is beyond the powers of the writer. It is scarcely necessary to say that the earlier plays exhibit in many cases a freedom, not to say a coarseness, which would certainly exclude them from representation by boys, and, it is to be hoped, from representation by any persons, in these days of greater refinement of manners. Whether this refinement is more than skin-deep it is not necessary here to inquire.

* Collected together in 1632.

† Mr. Blount, and not the author, must be held responsible for the epithets.



*SOME EARLY DRAWINGS OF OLD
S. PAUL'S.*



CHAPTER VII.

SOME EARLY DRAWINGS OF OLD S. PAUL'S.*

IT is much to be feared that no antiquarian research will ever be able to discover the precise form and outline of the first cathedral dedicated to S. Paul in the great city of London. That Ethelbert founded a cathedral here in the days of the sainted Bishop Mellitus, and that he endowed it with the manor of Tillingham, “ad monasterii sui solatium, scilicet, S. Pauli,” everyone knows; but who can reproduce for us the cathedral at whose altars Mellitus and Erkenwald celebrated? The manor of Tillingham still remains the property of the Cathedral, and still supplies its fabric fund; but no tradition has preserved for us the form or even the dimensions of Ethelbert’s cathedral. That it was destroyed by fire is certain, for the *Chroniculi S. Pauli*† record that “on the

* This chapter is based upon a paper read before the British Archæological Association, March 2, 1881.

† Printed in the *Documents Illustrating the History of S. Paul’s Cathedral* (Camden Society), 58.

seventh day of July 1087, the Church of S. Paul in London, and all things that were therein, together with great part of the City, were burnt with fire, in the time of Maurice Bishop of London." The church was, however, rapidly rebuilt; but in 1137, according to the *Chroniculi*, was once more destroyed by fire: "Anno mcxxxvij combusta erat Ecclesia Sancti Pauli London per ignem ad pontem London accensum, et inde processit ad Ecclesiam extra Barras Novi Templi London."

We do not, it is true, know very accurately the extent of the conflagration of 1137. The words "combusta erat Ecclesia Sancti Pauli" are tolerably elastic. Dugdale says* "it had great hurt by a dreadful fire in the very first year of King Stephen's reign," that is, in 1136. The dates do not quite agree; Matthew of Westminster placing it in 1135, Matthew Paris in 1136,† and the *Chroniculi S. Pauli* in 1137. Probably Dugdale is quite accurate in the expression, "it had great hurt."

The citizens of London loved their church too well to let it lie in ruins. The great work of reconstruction progressed under the fostering care of successive bishops, and in due time the stately structure, familiar to us by means of Hollar's admirable engravings, crowned the Pauline hill. When completed, the Cathedral stood within its walled enclosure—the Bishop's Palace on the north-west;

* Dugdale, *History of S. Paul's*, edit. Sir Henry Ellis, 7.

† Longman's *Three Cathedrals Dedicated to S. Paul*, 6, and my *Documents*, 58.

the Deanery on the south-west; the greater cloister on the north; the lesser cloister, with the chapter-house, on the south; the Minor Canons' college on the north; those indispensable adjuncts, the bake-house and the brewhouse, on the south; the residences for the clergy clustering thickly all round; the lower buildings only tending to magnify all the more the prodigious size of the Cathedral. It was a grand sanctuary, full of altars, shrines, and images; rich in goldsmiths' work and costly vestments, with store of manuscripts of Holy Scripture and of ancient rituals; with famous tombs where saints and kings and heroes slept; with places of pilgrimage well worn by the feet of the devout thronging from far off places to kneel in prayer within its consecrated walls.

Very striking must have been the view of old S. Paul's obtained by a visitor to London as he slowly sailed up the broad river Thames. No huge warehouses of seven or eight stories high, no giant railway-stations interposed their vast bulk between him and the grand structure on the Pauline hill. The imposing mass of the long nave with its twelve bays, of the choir with its equally numerous arches, of the well developed transepts crowned by the delicate and lofty spire, far exceeding in height that of Salisbury, must have presented a very remarkable *coup d'œil*. Crowning, as the Cathedral did, the summit of the highest hill in the City of London:

“WHEN YE HAVE SOUGHT THE CITTIE ROVND,
YET STILL THIS IS THE HIGH^T GROVND”;

* Inscription on a stone still standing in Panyer Alley.

surrounded by the low houses of the dignified clergy and others, who dwelt under the shadow of the church, with broad gardens sweeping down the hill towards the river, the view could not fail to impress the spectator. There is, in fact, good evidence that its beauty was appreciated, and that those who gazed upon the magnificent building desired to record their impressions of its grandeur. Thus in a very important *Chronicle* of the fourteenth century, preserved in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, the chronicler has been recording some interesting events connected with the history of S. Paul's Cathedral, and not satisfied with a verbal record, he adds in the margin a sketch of the church. Let us first hear what he has to say, and then examine his view of the Cathedral. He is writing of the year 1314. It may be convenient to present his *Chronicle* in an English dress:*

“On the tenth of the Calends of June, Gilbert [de Segrave], Bishop of London, dedicated altars, namely those of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of St. Thomas the Martyr, and of the Blessed Dunstan, in the New Fabric of the Church of S. Paul, London.

“In the same year the cross and the ball, with great part of the campanile of the Church of S. Paul, were taken down because they were decayed and dangerous, and a new cross, with a ball well gilt, was erected; and many relics of divers saints were,

* It has been thought better to give a bald, literal version of the original than to attempt to rewrite, in modern English, the rough Latin of the chronicler. (Lambeth MSS., No. 1106, folio 96 *b*.) The original Latin will be found in my *Documents*, 45, 46.

for the protection of the aforesaid campanile and of the whole structure beneath, placed within the cross, with a great procession, and with due solemnity, by Gilbert the Bishop, on the fourth of the Nones of October; in order that the Omnipotent God and the glorious merits of His saints, whose relics are contained within the cross, might deign to protect it from all danger of storms. Of whose pity, twenty-seven years and one hundred and fifty days of indulgence, at any time of the year, are granted to those who assist in completing the fabric of the aforesaid Church.

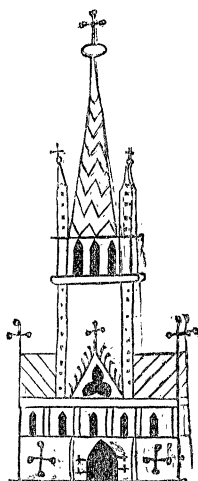
“In the same year was the said Church measured in length and breadth as well as in height; whose length contained 690 feet; its breadth, 130; the height of the western roof, from the pavement, 102; the height of the roof of the New Fabric, 88 feet; the ‘cumulus’* of the Church contains 150 feet in height. The whole Church contains within its limits three and a half acres of land, one rood and a half, and six rods. The height of the campanile tower of the same Church contains, from the ground level, 260 feet; the height of the wooden fabric of the campanile, 274 feet. The total, however, does not exceed 500 feet. The ball of the same campanile is able to contain in its concavity ten bushels of corn. The length of the cross standing above the ball contains 15 feet; the transverse of the cross is 6 feet in length.”†

* In another measurement we read, instead of this word “cumulus,” “*altitudo corporis Ecclesiæ*,” *i.e.*, the height of the body of the church.

† Those who are interested in the measurements of old S. Paul’s should consult Dugdale’s *S. Paul’s*, 61, and my *Documents*, 191-193.

And here the chronicler introduces a marginal sketch. If it be taken, as we may fairly suppose, from the west, it exhibits the great west door, the transepts very much compressed, the central tower with pinnacles at each angle, and the lofty spire surmounted by a very large ball and cross.

It happens that we know, from the *French Chronicle of London* (edited by Mr. H. T. Riley), p. 251, some-



Lambeth MS. No. 1106, Folio 96.

thing about these relics in the cross. They comprised "a part of the wood of the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, wrought in the form of a cross; a stone of the sepulchre of our Lord; and another stone from the place where God stood when He ascended into Heaven; and another stone from Mount Calvary, where the cross of our Lord was erected. There was also found a purse, and in this purse a

piece of red sendal,* in which were wrapped some bones of the eleven thousand virgins [of Cologne]; and other relics, the names of which were unknown." These relics were found in the cross when it was taken down, and after having been shewn to the people by Master Robert de Clothale, Chancellor of the Cathedral, during a Sunday sermon, were replaced in the cross together with other relics. These precautions against tempest were cast in the teeth of the clergy at the time of the Reformation: "We needed not to fear, if your opinion were true," says one of their opponents,† "the burning any more of Paul's. Make a cross on the steeple, and so it shall be safe. But within these few years it had a cross, and reliques in the bowl to boot. Yet they prevailed not: yea, the cross itself was fired first."

By the great kindness of the Rev. W. D. Macray I am enabled to add to this paper a hitherto unpublished account of a remarkable *Function* at S. Paul's Cathedral, in connection with the cross at the summit of the spire.

"The xvii day of May Anno Domini MCCCCLXXXVIII. the xiii yere of Kyng Henre the vii bytuene iiij and vi of the cloke at afternoone, the Dominicall lettre G, the Crosse with the Bolle & Egell one Powles Steple wer halowyd with great & solempne observaunces. First, the procession goyng aboute the Chirche *more*

* *Sendal* or *cendal*, a species of rich, thin silken stuff very highly esteemed (Halliwell's *Dictionary*). "A kind of thin Cyprus silk," says Nares.

† Calphill's *Answer to Martiall*, 180. (Parker Society.)

solito. That done, the Bysshope of London, then beyng called Maister Thomas Savage, with the Chanons and hole quere of Powles, knelyng aboute the said Crosse in the Body of the Chirche, said the vii psalmes. And that doone ii vicars saying the letaney, *Choro respondente*, the Bysshope red certayne colettes. And that doone he halowyd water & beganne Asperges me domine, *Choro respondente more Dominicali*, the Bisshoppe gooyng aboute & castyng holy water one euery partie of the Crosse with a Styk bounde fulle of ysop during the hole Psalme of Miserere mei deus. And that doone, the Bisshope sange the preface halowyng encensyng the Crosse & other Relykes that wer put in the same Crosse. And thene was begune O crux splendidior & songun oute & ageyn repeted & in meane tyme the Bisshope sensed it at euery parte knelyng on his knees & put in the Ralykkes at iiii endes of the Crosse & closed them in with pynnes of Tymbre and lede, and thene opened the Bolle of the Crosse & put therin Reliques & it closed, agayne sensed it aboute & begane this Antempe Salvator mundi salva nos, and so departid vp into the quere, thes persones beyng present thene & ther, the said Bisshope, Docters Kerner, Owdeby, Cutfold, Draper & mouche other people. The length of the crosse from the bolle to the Egle is xv fote vi ynches of assyse. The length therof ouerthwart v foote x ynches. The compasse aboute the Crosse at bolle iii fote & ii ynches. And the cumpas of the Bolle rounde aboute is ix fote & six ynche. The Maisters of the woorke were Pryoure of Elsyng Spitell. And the Inner parte of the Crosse is Ooke, the second parte is lede, and the vtter parte Coper

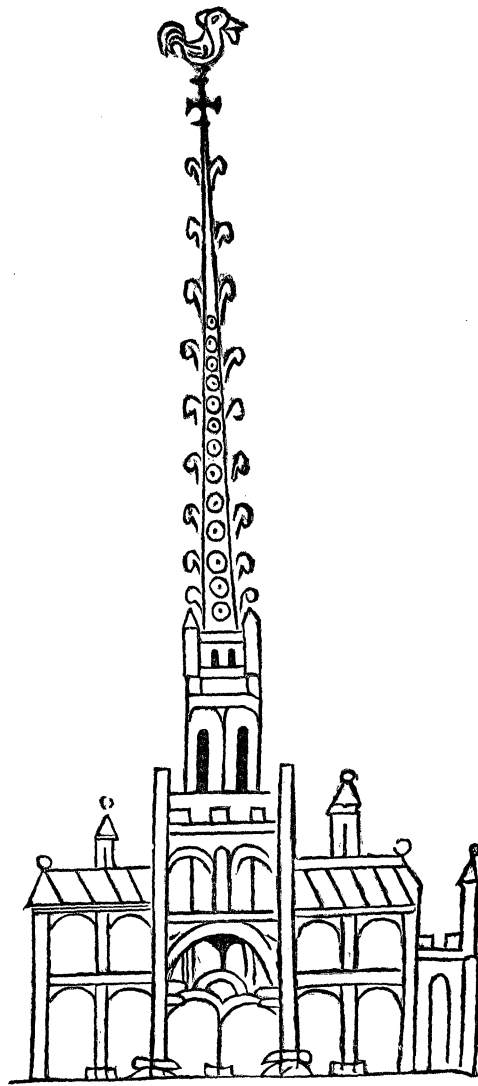


PLATE IV.—VIEW OF S. PAUL'S. (From Cottonian MS.)

To face p. 127.

coloured with rede varnysshe. The bolle and the Egle ben coper & gylt.”*

But to return to our first illustration.† I have submitted it to a well-known architect, who says “the sketch of the spire is very curious, and I think, with you, that the man who drew it intended, after his fashion, to represent the actual building.” The great height of the spire made it a most striking feature, towering up as if to pierce the very skies. This singular, and to him, no doubt, unique height greatly impressed the artist, who has recorded his recollections of it in a very spirited manner.

Our next example (Plate IV.) is taken from a MS. in the Cottonian Collection.‡ The portion of the volume in which it occurs is described as a “Chronicon ab orbe condito ad obitum regis Edwardi I, h. e., ad annum 1307, a monacho quodam Roffensi conscriptum: cum figuris nonnullis, rudiori manu depictis, in margine.” There are other treatises in the same volume, of which it is not necessary now to speak. The chronicler proceeds, at folio 17, to relate the founding of London:

“Civitas London condita est.

“Diviso tandem regno ædificavit Brutus civitatem super Tamensem fluvium quam Troiam Novam

* The above account is taken from Digby MS., Rolls 2, Bodleian Library.

† The woodcut is here reproduced by permission of the Council of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, in whose *Transactions* (vol. v.) it originally appeared in illustration of a *Short Chronicle of S. Paul's*, edited by the present writer.

‡ British Museum, Nero, D. ii.

vocavit, quæ postea per corruptionem Trinovantum dicta fuit. Hanc postea rex Lud frater Cassibellamii Kaerlud jussit vocari: quod nomen postea mutaverunt Saxones et vocaverunt civitatem Londone in lingua sua usque in presens tempus.

“Cognoverat etiam Brutus uxorem suam Innogen, et genuit ex ea tres filios, quorum nomina sunt hæc, Locrinus, Albanectus, Kamber. Et regnavit Brutus in Britannia xxiiij annis; et mortuus est: quem sepelierunt filii sui in civitate supradicta quam ædificaverat, quæ nunc est metropolis Anglorum.”

In the lower margin of this most interesting MS., and connected by a bar with the word “London” in the margin of the passage just cited, is a drawing of S. Paul's Cathedral with an exceedingly lofty, crocketed spire surmounted by a weathercock. Some adjacent houses (not shown in our copy) are also indicated. Portions of this vigorous drawing are washed with a green paint. The weathercock here delineated makes its appearance in more than one ancient chronicle. Thus in Ricart's *Kalendar*,* under the date 1422, we read: “This same yere, the xiiijth day of August, the newe wethir cokke was sette vpon Seynt Powles stepill in London.” And again in Gregory's *Chronicle*† we find a similar entry: “The same yere, the xiiij day of Auguste, a newe wedyrcoke was sette at Powlys stypylle in London.” The great height of the spire rendered the achievement of setting up the “wedyrcoke” worthy of special notice.

* Camden Society, *Ricart*, 38.

† Camden Society, *Gregory*, 148.

We are not now concerned with the details of the chronicler's story of the foundation of London. Perhaps, however, it may be worth while to set down here the opinion of the late Dr. Guest, the Master of Caius College, Cambridge, upon the subject. He delivered a lecture on the campaign of Aulus Plautius in Britain, at the Royal Institution, and the lecture was reported in the *Athenæum*. I take this summary of its contents from a short paper communicated to *Notes and Queries* by the Rev. E. Marshall :*

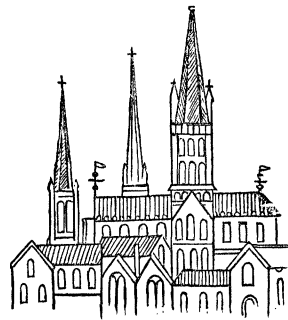
"Aulus Plautius sailed from Boulogne A.D. 43, and his army, consisting of about 50,000 men, landed in three divisions at Hythe, Dover, and Richborough. But little opposition was experienced from the petty chiefs of Kent, the mutiny in Gaul having put them off their guard. Plautius seems to have advanced by Silchester and Marlborough to Cirencester, which became a fresh base of operations. He then probably went down the valley of the Thames by the ancient British trackway, the Icknield Way, which led across the Thames at Wallingford. Here a great battle was fought. Vespasian having forced a way across, Caractacus withdrew, and the next day's fight ended in a victory to the Romans. Plautius pursued the Britons along the Icknield Way by Tring, and then by the Watling Street southward. The Britons crossed the Thames by a ford, and the Romans higher up by a bridge, when they became entangled in the marshes, and retreated to await the arrival of Claudius. Where was it that they secured for themselves a place of safety? Dr. Guest's answer is contained in the following extract from his lecture: 'When Plautius withdrew his soldiers from the marshes they had vainly attempted to cross, he, no doubt, encamped them somewhere in the neighbourhood. I believe the place was London. The name of London refers directly to the marshes, though I cannot here enter into a philological argument to prove the fact. At London the Roman general was able both to watch his enemy and to secure the conquests he had made, while his ships could supply him with all the necessaries he required. When, in the autumn of the year 43, he drew the lines of circumvallation round his camp, he founded the present metropolis of Britain. The spot he

* *Notes and Queries*, 6th Series, iii. 23.

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selected has been, perhaps with one small interval, the habitation of civilized man for 1,833 years. May we not venture to hope that its influence for good has not been altogether unworthy of the position it has occupied among the cities of the world?"*

Our next example is taken from another MS. in the British Museum (Reg. 13, A. iii.), also of the fourteenth century, but in a very different style of art. Here also the drawing is associated with the traditional account of the building of London. At folio 27 we read, "Diviso tandem regno affectavit Brutus civitatem ædificare," and so on. At the foot



MS. Reg. Brit. Mus., 13, A. iii., folio 27

of the page, and extending upwards on each side of the text, is a minute but very careful sketch of the Cathedral, and of part of the great city. Lest we should doubt what city may be intended, the word LONDON stands conspicuously above the drawing. In the midst is S. Paul's. The view is taken from the north or south side; and the length of the Cathedral is indicated by four windows to the left of the central tower, and by three windows to the

* *Athenæum*, August 4, 1866, p. 148.

right. The tower itself has pinnacles at the angles, and is surmounted by a lofty spire with a cross at its summit. The elevation of the north or south transept is seen. The tower contains three long windows in each of its two stories—six windows in all. The peculiar exigencies of the page on which the drawing is placed have compelled the draughtsman to exhibit the Cathedral in miniature; whilst a lofty spire on the left, and a large building on the right (omitted in our reproduction), are able to run up the inner and outer margin of the page, and so to appear as if they were of greater importance than the Cathedral itself. The volume is enriched with views of Winchester, Leicester, Gloucester, Rome, and many other cities.

A fourth example may be found in a magnificent MS. of the time of Henry VII. in the British Museum, in the Royal Library (16, F. ii.). It comprises “*Poésies de Charles duc d’Orleans*,” “*Epitres de l’Abbesse Heloys*,” “*Des Demandes d’Amour*,” “*Le Livre dit Grace Entière*.” At folio 73 of the first work is a fine full-page illumination representing a scene in the Tower of London. Above is old London Bridge and the city of London; and in the very heart of the city is S. Paul’s with its spire. Distance has diminished the Cathedral very greatly; but the manner in which its spire catches the light is very cleverly indicated. The whole composition is an admirable specimen of French art; but it is much too elaborate to be copied upon an octavo page.

How far do these drawings represent the actual

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appearance of the Cathedral? Fortunately we have Hollar's beautiful plates in illustration of Dugdale's *S. Paul's*; but as the first edition of Dugdale was not issued till 1658, and as the noble spire fell in the disastrous fire of 1561, we have only the truncated tower left to us. "There is every indication that the central tower was treated as a lantern internally, and was open up to the base of the spire, or at any rate high enough to exhibit internally the effect of the first tier of windows. The view presented to a spectator standing under the crossing must have been very grand. The long, narrow windows in the tower gave it, architecturally speaking, a French tone, though the details are evidently pure Early English."* The arrangement of these three very long windows in the lower story of the tower, with those lesser windows above them, is clearly indicated in Plate IV. The pinnacles, or little turrets, at the angles of the tower had disappeared in Hollar's time: they probably shared the fall of the great spire.

For the next illustration of this paper (Plate V.) I am indebted to the great courtesy of the late Rev. Walter Sneyd, Keele Hall, Newcastle, Staffordshire. Whilst reading the account of the MSS. belonging to this gentleman, in the *Third Report of the Historical MSS. Commission*, I was much struck with the brief summary given of the following book: "A quarto volume of about 300 pages. Consists of a Diary of Alessandro Magno, a Venetian gentleman;

* Longman's *Three Cathedrals Dedicated to S. Paul*, 33, 37.

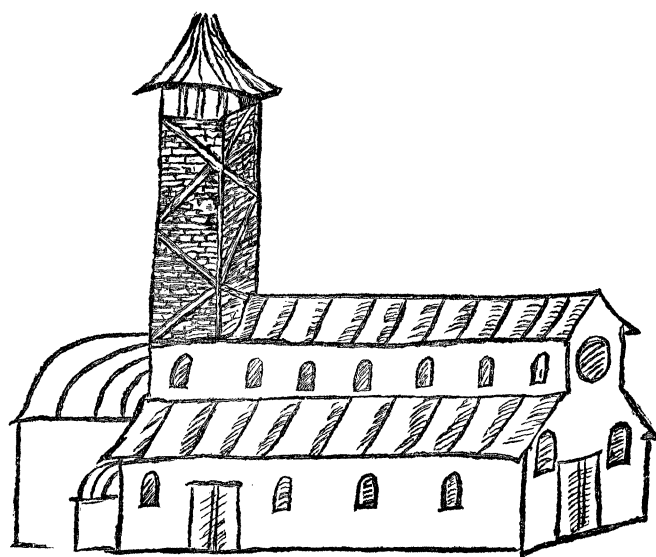


PLATE VI.—ROUGH SKETCH OF S. PAUL'S AFTER THE FIRE OF 1563.
(From a MS. at Keele Hall.)

To face p. 133.

containing accounts of his travels in England and other places in the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He visited London and Windsor; mentions the prices of various things. On several pages he gives drawings; one of S. Paul's Cathedral." I at once addressed a letter to Mr. Sneyd, begging for more particulars about this drawing of S. Paul's Cathedral. He most kindly replied to me immediately, informing me that the *Diary* was dated 1562, and enclosing a very careful tracing of the sketch, together with full permission to publish it if I chose to do so—a permission of which I am not slow to avail myself. It is true that the sketch is extremely rough, warranting Mr. Sneyd's words, "I consider that it is a mere scribble, probably done from memory, and very inexact." Yet still it seems to me to deserve a place in this chapter, because it relates to a very interesting period in the history of S. Paul's; for in the previous year, on the 4th day of June, 1561, occurred that memorable and most destructive fire which consumed the spire, the great glory of the church, and seriously injured the adjacent portions of the structure, threatening at one moment to extend beyond the fabric itself to the Bishop's Palace. A very full and authentic account of this conflagration will be found in my *Documents illustrating the History of S. Paul's Cathedral*, pp. 113-127, where I have printed the contemporary record (in Latin) of the fire inserted in the *Register* of Bishop Grindal, an English account printed in the very year of the fire, and a ballad upon the great calamity.

Rude as the drawing is, it gives a rough *memoriter* sketch of the temporary capping placed upon the ruins to keep out the rain, and of the scaffoldings hastily erected to shield the injured tower from the effects of weather. Certainly the artist, if we may venture to attribute such rude work to an artist's hand, has failed altogether to carry away with him any distinct recollection of the grand building. The only portion of the drawing which seems likely to be an accurate recollection, is the capping of the tower and the scaffolding surrounding it.

The famous view of London, taken by Van den Wyngaerde in 1540, forms one of the publications of the *Topographical Society of London*. That portion of the drawing which depicts the Cathedral presents a view taken from the S.E. Westward are seen two towers, which may possibly be those of Ludgate, or of Ludgate and S. Martin's Church. The great mass of the central tower rises far above the noble church: church and tower and spire all standing out grandly from the mass of low houses which form its environment.

An exceedingly rare engraving (see Plate VI.) in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, gives a view taken from the S.W. The towers westward of S. Paul's are well separated from each other. The Chapter House is seen, though it has lost its pointed roof; and the view embraces Baynard's Castle and the banks of the Thames. The fact that the Chapter House has lost its roof suggests what is actually the case, that this engraving was made after

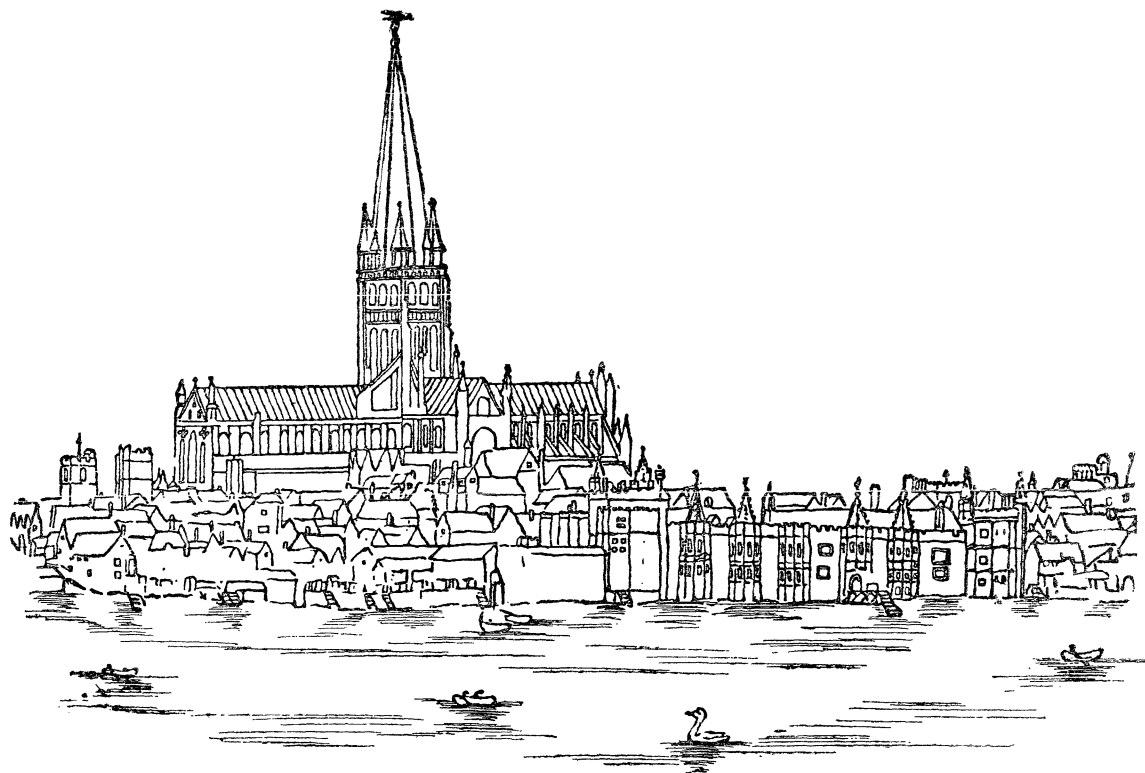


PLATE V.—VIEW OF S. PAUL'S. (From a rare engraving in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries.)

To face p. 334.

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the fatal fire of 1561. An inscription on the plate informs the reader that he has before him "a prospect of parte of y^e citey of London southward to y^e Thames wherein you may beholde y^e very forme of y^e most famous Church of St. Paule. The lengthe of Paules Church is 720 foote, the bredthe 130, and the steeple of stone worke now standinge in height from y^e ground is 260 foote. This spere w^{ch} was of ti'ber coverd with lead was in height 260 foote and in



View of Old S. Paul's from Smith's *Particular Description of England*, 1588.

Anno D'ni 1561 wass burnte downe." We may take it that the engraving was made from a drawing executed probably a short time before the fire, the engraving itself having been wrought very soon after the fire. Here again there is the same grand mass towering above the City, the same dignified proportions finely displayed.

To these must be added a charming little distant view of S. Paul's, taken from a manuscript in the

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British Museum: *The Particular Description of England*, 1588, by William Smith, *Ronge Dragon*.* Smith gives a good many views of English cities, and amongst them a bird's-eye view of London. The fire has robbed the Cathedral of its beautiful spire; but the great feature of the charming little view is that it displays admirably the manner in which the Cathedral crowned the Pauline Hill, rising grandly above the whole city, and consecrating it to God.

In C. J. Vischer's fine view of London in 1616, as in Aggas' map, the spire is absent: but it is seen to great advantage in the plate issued by the Society of Antiquaries, exhibiting *The Procession of Edward the Sixth from the Tower to Westminster*. In this very fine plate, engraved from an original picture at Cowdray, although the exigencies of the subject have compelled the painter greatly to abbreviate the space between the Tower and Bow Church, and again the interval between S. Paul's and Westminster, yet it cannot be denied that he does ample justice to the grandeur of the spire.

* This MS. has been lately printed, 4to., London, 1879.



*THE WESTERN PART OF S. PAUL'S CHURCH-
YARD—LOTTERIES—EXECUTIONS.*



CHAPTER VIII.

THE WESTERN PART OF S. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD— LOTTERIES—EXECUTIONS.

THE open space at the west end of the Cathedral has been used for many purposes: for grand religious or civil pageants, for the mustering of the citizens for many varied causes, for uses well suited to the sanctuary, for uses as ill suited as can well be conceived.

“The first Lottery in England, of which we have any account, was drawn at the west door of S. Paul's Cathedral in 1569, and consisted of forty thousand lots, at ten shillings each lot. The prizes were plate, and the profits were to be applied toward repairing the havens of the kingdom.”*

The continuator of Stow gives a brief account of it in his *Annals*:

“A great Lottery being holden at London in *Pauls* Churchyard, at the West door, was begun to be drawne the 11 of January, and con-

* Dugdale, *S. Paul's*, p. 113.

tinued day and night till the sixt of May, wherein the sayd drawing was fully ended."

In 1586 another Lottery was drawn, which the same authority shall again describe :

"A lottery for marueilous rich, and beautifull armour, was begun to be drawne at London in Saint *Pauls* Churchyard, at the great West Gate (an house of timber and boord being there erected for that purpose) on Saint *Peters* day in the morning, which lottery continued in drawing day and night, for the space of two or three dayes."

And again, in 1612:*

"The King's Maiesty in speciall fauour for the present plantation of English Collonies in *Virginia* graunted a liberall Lottery, in which was contained fve thousand pound in prizes certaine, besides rewardes of casualty, and began to be drawne in a new built house at the West end of *Pauls*, the 29 of June, 1612. Out of which Lottery, for want of filling vp the number of lots, there were taken out and throwne away, threescore thousand blankes, without abating of any one prize, and by the twentieth of July, all was drawne and finished. This Lottery was so plainly carried, and honestly performed, that it gaue full satisfaction to all persons. Thomas Sharpliffe, a Taylor of London, had the chiefe prize, viz., foure thousand Crownes in fayre plate, which was sent to his house in very stately manner: during the whole time of the drawing of this lottery, there were alwayes present diuers worshipfull Knights and Esquires, accompanied with sundry graue discreete Citizens."

Lotteries, it might have been thought, were a sufficient desecration, but still worse scenes were to be exhibited at this open space. Here on January 30, 1606, some of the conspirators in the Gunpowder Plot suffered the extreme penalty of the law.

"On Thursday, being the 30th of January, Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, Grant, and Bates, were, for the facts aforesaid, hanged, drawn, and quartered, at London, in Paul's Churchyard.

"The next day, being Friday, Thomas Winter, the younger brother, Ruckwood, Caies, and Faulkes, were likewise executed in the Old Palace in Westminster."†

* Stow's *Annales*, continued by Edmvd Howes, *Gent.*, 663, 720, 1002, 4to., London, 1631.

† *Diary of Walter Yonge, Esq.*, edited by Geo. Roberts, p. 2.

One of the most remarkable executions in this area was that of Father Garnet, S.J. I transcribe the account, as it is found in a not very common book in the Cathedral Library:

“A true and perfect relation of the whole proceedings against the late most barbarous Traitors, Garnet a Iesuite, and his Confederats, etc. Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's most Excellent Maiestie, 1606.” (Small 4to. The book is not paged.) At the end, on 3 leaves, is

“¶ A true Relation of all such things as passed at the Execution of *M. Garnet*, the third of May, Anno 1606.

“On the third day of May, *Garnet* according to his Iudgement, was executed vpon a Scaffold set vp for that purpose at the West end of *Paules* Church. At his arise vp the Scaffold, he stood much amazed (feare, and guiltinesse appearing in his face). The Deanes of *Paules* and *Winchester* being present, very grauely and Christianly exhorted him to a true and lively faith to God-ward, a free and plaine acknowledgement to the world of his offence; and if any further Treason lay in his knowledge, to vnburthen his conscience, and shew a sorrow and detestation of it: But *Garnet* impatient of perswasions, and ill pleased to be exhorted by them, desired them not to trouble him: hee came prepared, and was resolved. Then the Recorder of London (who was by his Maiestie appointed to be there) asked *Garnet* if he had any thing to say vnto the people before he died; It was no time to dissemble, and now his Treasons were too manifest to bee dissembled: therefore if he would, the world should witenesse, what at last he censured of himselfe, and of his fact; It should be free to him to speake what he liked. But *Garnet* vnwilling to take the offer, said, His voyce was low, his strength gone, the people could not heare him, though he spake to them; But to those about him on the Scaffold, he said, The intention was wicked, and the fact would haue bene cruell, and from his soule he should haue abhorred it, had it effected. But he said, he only had a generall knowledge of it by *M. Catesby*, which in that he disclosed not, nor vsed meanes to preuent it, Herein he had offended; What he knew in particulars was in Confession, as hee said. But the Recorder wished him to be remembred, That the king's Maiestie had vnder his hand-writing, these foure points amongst others.

“1. That *Greenway* told him of this, not as a fault, but as a thing

which he had intelligence of, and told it him by way of consultation.

"2. That *Catesby* and *Greenway* came together to him to be resolved.

"3. That *M. Tesmond* and he had conference of the particulars of the Powder-Treason in *Essex* long after.

"4. *Greenway* had asked him who should be the Protectour? but *Garnet* said, That was to be referred till the blow was past.

"These proue your priuitie besides Confession, and these are extant vnder your hand. *Garnet* answered, Whatsoeuer was vnder his hand was true. And for that he disclosed not to his Maiestie the things he knew, He confessed himself iustly condemned; and for this did aske forgiuenesse of his Maiestie. Hereupon the Recorder led him to the scaffold to make his Confession publique.

"Then *Garnet* said, Good countreyemen, I am come hither this blessed day of *The inuention of the holy crosse*, to end all my crosses in this life; The cause of my suffering is not vnknown to you; I confesse I haue offended the King, and am sory for it, so farre as I was guiltie, Which was in concealing it, and for that I aske pardon of his Maiestie: The treason intended against the King and State was bloody, My selfe should haue detested it, had it taken effect. And I am heartily sory that any Catholickes euer had so cruell a designe. Then turning himselfe from the people to them about him, He made an Apologie for Mistresse *Anne Vaux*, saying, There is such an honourable Gentlewoman who hath bene much wronged in report: For it is suspected and said, that I should be married to her, or worse. But I protest the contrary; She is a vertuous Gentlewoman, and for me a perfect pure virgin. For the Popes Breues, sir *Edmond Baynams* going ouer Seas, and the matter of the Powder-Treason, he referred himselfe to his Arraignment, and his Confessions, For whatsoever is vnder my hand in any of my Confessions, said he, is true.

"Then addressing himselfe to execution, he kneeled at the Ladder foote, and asked if he might haue time to pray, and how long. It was answered, he should limit himselfe: none should interrupt him. It appeared he could not constantly or deuoutly pray; feare of death, or hope of Pardon euen then so distracted him: For oft in those prayers he would breake off, turne and looke about him, and answere to what he ouer-hearde, while he seemed to be praying. When he stood vp, the Recorder, finding in his behaiour as it were an expectation of a Pardon, wished him not to deceiue himselfe, nor beguile his owne soule, he was come to die, and must die; requiring him not to Equiuocate with his last breath, if he knew anything that might bee danger to the King or State, he should now utter it. *Garnet* sayd, It is no time now to Equiuocate: how it was lawfull, and when, he had shewed his minde elsewhere. But sayth hee, I doe not now Equiuocate, and more then I

haue confessed, I doe not know. At his ascending vp the Ladder, hee desired to haue warning before he was turned off. But it was tolde him, he must looke for no other turne but death. Being vpon the Gibbet, he vsed these words, I commend me to all good Catholickes, and I pray God preserue his Maiestie, the Queene, and all their posteritie, and my Lords of the Priuie Counsell, to whom I remember my humble duetie, and I am sorie that I did dissemble with them : but I did not thinke they had such prooffe against me, till it was shewed mee ; But when that was proued, I held it more honour for me at that time to confesse, then before, to haue accused. And for my brother *Greenway*, I would the trueth were knowne : for the false reports that are, make him more faulty then he is, I should not haue charged him, but that I thought he had bin safe. I pray God the Catholicks may not fare the worse for my sake, and I exhort them all to take heede they enter not into any Treasons, Rebellions, or Insurrections against the King : and with this, ended speaking, and fel to praying ; And crossing himselfe, said, *In nomine Patris et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti*, and prayed *Maria mater gratie, Maria mater misericordie, Tu me a malo protege, et hora mortis suscipe*. Then, *In manus tuas Domine, commendo spiritum meum* ; Then, *Per crucis hoc signum* (crossing himselfe) *fugiat procul omne malignum. Infige crucem tuam in corde meo Domine*. Let me alwayes remember the Crosse, and so returned againe to *Maria mater gratie*, and then was turned off ; and hung til he was dead."

It is not altogether uninstrusive to set side by side with this contemporary narrative a few passages from Bishop Challoner's *Memoirs of Missionary Priests, Martyrs to the Catholic Faith*.* The writer above quoted sees only "fear and guiltinesse appearing" in Garnet's face : not so the Roman Catholic writer :—

"He was drawn on a sledge from the Tower to S. Paul's Churchyard, where a scaffold and gibbet were erected for the purpose ; and an innumerable multitude of people was assembled. As he was drawn through the streets his hands and eyes were lifted up towards heaven, where his heart was fixed. After he was taken off the sledge, and had recovered himself of the dizziness caused by the jogging of that incommodious vehicle, he ascended the scaffold and saluted the crowd with a smiling countenance. It was observed that the mob, which had uttered many reviling speeches against him, calling him by a thousand op-

* I quote from the edition printed at Edinburgh in quarto in 1878, ii. 303-306.

probrious names before he came to the place, was now struck dumb at his venerable aspect, which both spoke his innocence and commanded reverence."

The charge against Henry Garnet was, as we have seen, that he was privy to the Gunpowder Plot.

He was born in 1554, and was educated at Winchester; deserting the religion of his fathers, he travelled to Spain, and thence to Rome, where he entered the Jesuit order in 1571. It appears* that the plot was actually revealed to him, under the seal of confession.

The narration already given merely says that Garnet hung "til he was dead." The Roman version states that

"The executioner three several times attempted to cut the rope before he was dead, that he might be butchered alive according to sentence. But the people as often cried out, 'Hold, hold, hold!' so much were they moved by his behaviour to judge more favourably of him than they had done, and to compassionate his case; and when his head was shown by the executioner, instead of huzzas, usual on the like occasions, the people went off in silence."

The writer goes on to repeat the curious story, which seems to have been accepted by many Roman Catholics, that Garnet's head having been fixed on London Bridge,

"it was much remarked that his countenance, which was always venerable, retained for above twenty days the same lively colour which it had during life, which drew all London to the spectacle, and was interpreted as a testimony of his innocence, as was also an image of him wonderfully formed on the ear of a straw, on which a drop of his blood had fallen."

A woodcut of the wonderful straw, together with some details about it, is given in *Old and New*

* Bishop Challoner, *Missionary Priests*, 303.

London, and, being so easily accessible, need not be repeated here.*

In the troubles in 1648, a stray notice in *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, one of the curious secretly-printed papers of the day, records another execution :

“*Friday, Decem. 8.* Two Regiments of Foot, and some Troops of Horse took up Quarters this day in *Pauls* and *Black-Fryers*, and seized upon £20,000 at *Weavers Hall*, which they promised to repay, when the Lord Mayor and Common Councill please to bring in the Arreares due from the City. They secured likewise the Treasuries of Haberdashers and Goldsmiths Hall.

“*Friday, December 29.* This day the *Horsleeches* sacrificed the blood of one Major Pichard, a gallant man, who by order of the *Mechanick* Councill was shot to death at *Pauls*, on purpose to terrifie and affront the Citie.”†

Here is another memorable execution :

A mutiny broke out in a troop of Whalley's regiment, which had been ordered to leave London. They refuse to quit, as they are ordered. “They want this and that first. They seize their Colours from the Cornet, who is lodged at the Bull in Bishopsgate: the General and the Lieutenant-General have to hasten thither; quell them, pack them forth on their march; seizing fifteen of them first, to be tried by Court-Martial. Tried by instant Court-Martial, five of them are found guilty, doomed to die, but pardoned; and one of them, Trooper Lockyer, is doomed and not pardoned. Trooper Lockyer is shot, in Paul's Churchyard on the morrow. A very brave young man they say; though but three-and-twenty, ‘he has served seven years in these Wars,’ ever since the wars began. ‘Religious’

* *Old and New London*, i. 265.

† *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, 1648.

too, 'of excellent parts and much beloved ;' but with hot notions as to human Freedom, and the rate at which the Milleniums are attainable, poor Lockyer ! He falls shot in Paul's Churchyard on Friday, amid the tears of men and women. . . . Lockyer's corpse is watched and wept over, not without prayer in the eastern regions of the City, till a new week come."

So far Carlyle.*

Here follows an account of the transaction taken from a contemporary pamphlet, scarce, as much of this Civil War literature is. (I have just added a copy of it to the Cathedral Library.) The title-page tells its own story :

The Army's Martyr :

or A faithful RELATION of the barbarous and illegall Proceedings of the Court-Martiall at WHITE-HALL Upon *Mr. ROBERT LOCKIER* : With his Christian carriage and deportment, and his dying SPEECH to all his fellow-soulders at the time of his Execution, as an ever-lasting witnesse of the integrity to the Rights and Freedoms of the COMMON-WEALTH. *Who was shot to death in Paul's Church-yard upon the 27 of April, 1649.* With A PETITION Of divers well-affected persons Presented To the GENERAL in his behalf.

I KING 2. 5. 6.

*The blood of War shed in the time of Peace
Cries out for vengeance ; or our Freedoms cease.*

Printed at London in the Yeer 1649.

The pamphlet opens with " The humble Addresses of divers wel-affected persons in behalf of all those that are under restraint or censure of the Council of War, or Law-Martiall." The petition is addressed " To his Excellency THOMAS Lord FAIRFAX, Generall

* *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, ii. 121, 122, five-volume edition, already quoted in *Chapters in the History*, etc., 271.

of all the English Forces." The petitioners complain that their undoubted liberties were

"never more encroached upon by the Military power and Law-Martial, Souldiers and others of late being frequently seized, restrained and adjudged to death, and reproachful punishments without any regard to the Law of the Land, or tryall by twelve sworn men of the Neighbourhood : as is manifest in your present proceedings against those souldiers and others now under restraint, and censure of the Councill of War."

Mr. Robert Shaw and others presented the petition, and

"after that came to *White-hall* and there related to the prisoners what they had done in the business, and then M. *Atkinson* addressed himself at M. *Lockiers* request to the Marshall General, and acquainted him with the particular carriage in the business how they had drawn up a Petition to the General, and did desire he would stay till they had an Answer. He replied, that if so, they should wait upon the Generall for an answer, and meet him at *Pauls*, for there he was appointed to suffer."

The petition was, however, in vain :

"And coming to *Pauls*, we met with M. *Lockier* going with a strong guard before and behind of Souldiers of Colonel *Hewsons* Regiment, comming up *Ludgat-hill*, and he with a friend or two in a Coach to which I addressed myself, and acquainted him with what had passed between us and the Generall ; to which he answered dear friend (he scarce knowing me) I am ready and willing to dye for my Country and Liberty, and I blesse God I am not afraid to look death in the face in this particular cause God hath called me to."

M. *Atkinson* further says :

"After that I met him in the yard where he was to suffer, and he said the same words, and to the same effect, and then the Guard driving all his friends away, and him I could not hear what he said."

After some details, he then proceeds :

"He drew to the wall, and there prayed about a quarter of an houre, . . . and then comes and had discourse with many of the Officers, but what it was I could not well hear, but thus much I heard how he with a courageous and willing heart did undergoe what ever was laid upon him because it was in the behalfe of his Country."

The unfortunate Lockier addresses some words to the soldiers who formed the firing-party :

“ He thus said, fellow souldiers I am here brought to suffer in behalfe of the people of *England*, and for your Priviledges and Liberties, and such as in conscience you ought to own and stand to : But I perceive you are appointed by your Officers to murther me, and I did not thinke that you had had such heathenish & barbarous principles in you as to obey your Officers in murdering of me, when I stand up for nothing but what is for your good, and then I heard Col. *Okey* say with other Officers, what do you endeavour to make the Souldiers mutiny? Martial away with him, and setting him in the place where he was to suffer, he lift up his eyes to God, and desired that when he gave them a signe they should shoot, which was the lifting up of both his hands, and immediately he lifted up his hands, they all six shot off their Muskets, and so dyed this gallant heart.

“ Then pulling off his loose Jacket and Coat and Belt, he gave them some to one and some to another, and after that he went to prayer againe in his shirt without his dublet, and after prayer he stood in the place of execution, and all this while with abundance of courage and undauntednesse, for when I desired him to put something upon his face and cover it : he thanked me for my love, but he said his cause was so just as that he feared not the face of death, and therefore he stood, looking with a gallant courage in their faces, and then came up to the men that were to shoot him, which were six musketeers.”

Mr. Bunting relates some additional particulars, and says that after his prayer, Lockier

“ came again discoursing a little while with the Officers ; called for his Sister & Friends, came to the Souldiers that was to shoot him and said, I freely forgive you and all the world ; I pray sister forgive them.”

The pamphlet ends with these words : *Courteous reader, there will come forth very suddenly a more fuller Relation of the whole matter and cause of this unexpected murther.*

Colonel Hewson, mentioned in this narrative, is lashed with great severity in the *Rump Songs*.* Take one or two examples.

* Vol. ii. of the *Reprint*, pp. 151, 152, 102, 147.

A HYMNE TO THE GENTLE CRAFT: OR HEWSON'S
LAMENTATION.

TO THE TUNE OF THE *Blind Beggar*.

Listen awhile to what I shall say
Of a blind Cobler that's gone astray
Out of the Parliaments High Way,
Good people pity the blind.
Crispin and he were nere of Kin,
The gentle Craft have a noble Twin,
But he'd give Sir *Hugh's* bones to save his skin
Good people pity the blind.

And in another song called *The Committee of Safety*, there is an allusion to Hewson's appointment as one of Cromwell's Lords, "who, men say, started as a shoemaker in early life,"* and was, as Lord Clarendon still more pungently puts it, "a bold fellow who had been an ill shoemaker, and afterwards clerk to a brewer of small beer."† The touch in that sentence, "a brewer of *small* beer," is a very pretty piece of sarcasm.

Lord Hughson the Cobler's teeth greedily chatter,
To carve up a Prentice's Head in a Platter,
For he will go through-stitch with the whole matter.

It is of this heterogeneous assemblage which Cromwell had gathered together that Macaulay says, with his usual force, that "the multitude, who felt respect and fondness for the great historical names of the land, laughed without restraint at a House of Lords, in which lucky draymen and shoemakers were seated, to which few of the old nobles were invited, and from which almost all those old nobles who were invited turned disdainfully away."‡

* Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters*, v. 91.

† Clarendon, *History*, book xvi.

‡ *History*, vol. i., chap. i.

And in *The Cobler's last Will and Testament*; or *the Lord Hewson's translation*; the loyalist writer puts these words into the Colonel's mouth:

Therefore to *Zyburn* I must ride,
Although it cannot be deny'd,
But that I have liv'd single ey'd.

The last extract expresses the writer's wishes rather than the actual fact. Hewson was, indeed, hanged—but only in effigy: for Pepys says:

"After dinner I took leave, and coming home heard that in Cheapside there had been a little before a gibbet set, and the picture of Huson hung upon it in the middle of the street."

This was on January 25, 1659-60: Hewson himself escaped hanging by flight, and died at Amsterdam in 1662.*

A few years later, and the City interfered with much energy to save this "void peece of ground att the West end of Poules Church" from being built upon. I have transcribed the following document from the original in the Public Record Office†:

Whereas att a Court of Aldermen held the 16 day of March 1653 amongst other things it was ordered that Petter Mills and Edward Jerman the two surveyors of the Chamber of London shewe, sett forth, and represent to this Court in writhing the inconveniences of building vpon the void peece of ground att the West end of Poules Church. In obedience to which said order we the persons above named and whose names are hearevnto subscribed doe humbly present these reasons fowllowing.

1. first, because it hath bene in all ages beyond the memory of Man an open wast place whereon was never any house or buildings but lay open for the Benefitt of the Citty & for the use of the Inhabitants near adiacent both for Light and aire.

* Pepy's *Diary*, Rev. Mynors Bright's edition. Hewson was one of those who sat in judgment on the King.

† *State Papers*, March 16, 1653-4, vol. lxxi.

2. Secoundly if house should bee built thereon as is intended it would very much streighten the passage it being a place of very great concourse of people, Coaches, Carts, and Carriages towards Ludgate and very daingerous for all sorts of passengers both one horse and foote yt shall have occasion to pase that waye as for example it is one Ludgate Hill where many times people are hurt and Redy to be killed by reason of the straitnes of the passage, and if building should be admitted in that plase, would reduce it to the same or Like condition.

3. It wilbe if build vpon dishonerable to y^e State and Citty of London for as much as the said Citty is the vsuall place of Receipt for Ambassidors from all foreine parts and must of necessity pase that waye from the Citty to Westminster.

4. ffourthly, in all times of Contagion of the plage which many times god hath bene pleased to visitt y^e Citty withall it hath bene an vsuall buriall plase for the ease of the Citty when other bureing plase hath beene opresed with dead Corpses.

5. fifthly, the said pece of wast ground togeather with y^e new portique latly build at y^e west end of Powles Church in case of any Insurrection or tumult wilbe a very convenient plase for the drawing vpp of a body of Souldiers, for the suppressing of any such Insurrection or tumult whereby to presarue the Citty for peace.

6. Sixthly, in the Act of Parliamt^t mad for sale of Bishops and Deane and Chapters Lands Churchs and Churchyards are excepted from sale and to be Employed for noe other Vse then formerly theye ware.

7. Seaventhly vpon any occasion of Reparations of any of that part the Church or any of the neighbouring houses there is noe other plase to Lay any materialls for any such vse but that plas only.

8. If these buildings be erected as is intended y^e entrance into the west end of the Church wilbe wholly obstructed and the Light both of the Church and porticoe soe obscured that both of them will in a maner Become altogether vseles.

EDW. JERMAN.

A series of affidavits follows, on separate sheets of paper: to the effect that no houses had ever been built upon this land, which is "now inclosed with a Rayle;" that "divers and sundry corps" have been "buried and interred in the said place;" such "dead corps" had been "brought from severall Parrishes thereabouts;" Richard Andrewes had

“seene above a hundred dead corps interred in the said place or ground which were brought from Sundry Parrishes thereabouts, and knew divers and Sundry Trees growe in and vpon the said Churchyard or ground aforesaid.” In excavating for cellars “many bones and skulls of dead men” were “digged up.”

A Mr. Walton, “Cittizen and Wollendraper,” desired to build houses here: but the inhabitants of Castle Baynard Ward petitioned the Lord Mayor and Aldermen against it, and the Lord Mayor advised Mr. Walton to desist

Many affidavits contradicting some of the above statements are also extant, as may be seen in the *Calendars* of State-Papers.*

* *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic, 1654, 141-143.



MUSIC IN S. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

PART I.: THE ORGAN—THE ANTHEM—THE CHOIR—
CANTUS ORGANICUS.



CHAPTER IX.

MUSIC IN S. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL. PART I.: THE
ORGAN—THE ANTHEM—THE CHOIR—CANTUS
ORGANICUS.

IT might fairly be supposed that one who had served the offices of Succentor, and of Keeper of the Records of S. Paul's Cathedral,* would be possessed of a great deal of information upon the subject of this and the three following chapters not accessible to the public; and that he might not unnaturally be expected to know more than other people about the Organists of S. Paul's by reason of the abundant materials lying ready to his hand.

This expectation, if it exists, is unhappily doomed to disappointment. The terrible fires† which have laid waste the Cathedral, and, perhaps, the still more destructive neglect of past ages, have destroyed the earlier account-books. Records of other kinds

* The author was *Succentor* from 31st March, 1876, to 20th November, 1885; and is still *Keeper of the Records*.

† See *supra*, p. 37.

—Deeds, Statutes, Indulgences, Grants, Charters—are still preserved in rich abundance; but Chapter minute-books and accounts, which must have contained most valuable lists of names, are, as Lord Palmerston would have said, “conspicuous by their absence.” It is not possible to compile a really accurate list, such a list as would satisfy a critical historian, of the Cathedral Organists even of the sixteenth century.

As regards the early periods of the History of S. Paul's, it is to be remembered that in Cathedrals of the Old Foundation the Organist was not a statutable officer at all, unless he held a lay-clerkship. In truth, the duty now assigned to one musician was then distributed amongst many; the *Master of the Children*, and such Gentlemen of the Choir as were players, taking in rotation the duty of presiding at the Organ.

At Durham a monk played at nocturns and at matins, and the *Master of the Song School* at High Mass and at Vespers.* At Hereford, in the fifteenth century, the Organist was styled *Clerk of the Organs*.

Fortunately there are extant two very important documents which give an insight into the early usage both of the Chapel Royal and of a Chapel belonging to a great nobleman. These are the *Liber Niger Domus Regis*, a MS. of the time of Edward IV., in which an account is given of the King's Chapel; and the *Rules and Regulations for the Chapel* of Algernon Percy, fifth Earl of Northumber-

* Walcott, *Sacred Archaeology: Organist*.

land, in the early part of the sixteenth century. Neither of these sources of information notices the existence of any distinct officer under the title of *Organist*. The duties now assigned to that office were anciently taken by the monks or clerks of the religious house, according to arrangement. The order of procedure in the Earl of Northumberland's Chapel is carefully recorded :

"The Orduryng for Keapyng Weikly of the Orgayns oon after another as the namys of them hereafter followethe weikely :

The Maister of the Childer yf he be a Player, the Fyrst Weke.

A Countertenor that is a Player, the ij^{de} Weke.

A Tenor that is a Player, the thirde Weke.

A Basse that is a Player, the iiijth Weke.

Ande every Man that is a Player to kepe his cours Weikely."*

As long ago as the days of Edward IV., as the *Liber Niger Domus Regis* shows, it was ordered that the Chaplains and Gentlemen Clerks of the Chapel, twenty-four in number, were to be "endowed with uirtues morrolle and specikatyve, as of the musicke, shewing in descante, clean uoyced, well releshed and pronounsinge. Eloquent in readinge, suffityente in organes playinge:"† so that any one of these might have been called Organist during his week of duty.

It would therefore be labour in vain to attempt to present any list of players upon the Organ at S. Paul's during the fifteenth century. Indeed, even during the sixteenth century, the following pages include the names of several musicians who may only have been Gentlemen of the Choir.

* Rimbault's *Old Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal*, ii., iii., ix., xv.

† Burney, *History* (4to., London, 1782), iii. 4, note.

Nor can any account be given of the Organs upon which the earliest Organists of S. Paul's were accustomed to perform. There is an entire dearth of material upon the subject. In the minute and very careful *Calendar* of the Records of the Cathedral, executed by Mr. Maxwell Lyte for the *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, there is no early mention of an Organ in the Cathedral.*

All who are interested in the early history of the Organ should read a learned and able paper† by Dr. E. J. Hopkins on the English Mediæval Church Organ. He gives a translation of an epigram—a description of a very early instrument—attributed to Julian the Apostate (correcting an error in Dr. Burney's version of it‡):

“I see reeds of a new species, the growth of another and a brazen soil; such as are not agitated by our winds, but by a blast that rushes from a leathern cavern beneath their roots; while a robust mortal, running with swift fingers over the concordant rulers,§ makes them, as they smoothly dance, emit melodious sounds.”

Julian died in 363 A.D.

An Organ erected by Bishop Elphege at Winchester, about the close of the tenth century, must have been one of the wonders of the age. It had six-and-twenty bellows. “These, by alternate blasts,” says the monk Wulston, in a poem with which the

* See the *Ninth Report* of the Commission.

† In the *Archæological Journal*, xlv.

‡ Burney, ii. 65.

§ That is, flat rules of wood.

Organ inspired him,* “supply an immense quantity of wind, and are worked by 70 strong men

Quos agitant validi septuaginta viri,

labouring with their arms, covered with perspiration, each inciting his companions to drive the wind up with all his strength, that the full bosomed box may speak with its 400 pipes, which the hand of the organist governs Two brethren (*religious*) of concordant spirit sit at the instrument, and each manages his own alphabet They strike the seven differences of joyous sounds, adding the music of the lyric semi tone.

Et feriunt jubilum septem discrimina vocum

Permixto lyrici carmine semitoni.

Like thunder the iron tones batter the ear, so that it may receive no sound but that alone. To such an amount does it reverberate, echoing in every direction that every one stops with his hand his gaping ears, being in no wise able to draw near and hear the sound, which so many combinations produce. The music is heard throughout the town, and the flying fame thereof is gone out over the whole country.”

Dr. Hopkins has done all that is necessary to make this account intelligible. This Organ, he explains, was built in two stories—a plan that in later times became common, but of which, as we are told, no previous example had existed. The chief department (the *Great* Organ, as we should say) was

* Rimbault's *Hist. Organ.*, 16, 17.

supplied by fourteen bellows. The bellows were of the ordinary household type. The instrument was played by means of forty tongues, which were lettered, showing with what part of the musical gamut their sounds accorded. It is suggested that the three sets of playing slides were arranged as follows, the two upper rows entrusted to the "two brethren of concordant spirit" consisting each of twelve notes corresponding with those of the Gregorian Chants :

C D E F G a \flat \natural c d e f.
 C D E F G a \flat \natural c d e f.
 A B C D E F G a \flat \natural c d e f g aa.

The player could only sound single notes at one time. "He could do no more with slides than draw forward with one hand as he pushed home with the other."*

Allowing for the fervour of the good monk Wulston's poetry, this must still have been a remarkable Organ.

Happily modern instruments do not demand all this manual labour, nor is their sound so very terrible. The S. Paul's Organ has fifty-two sounding stops, and yet no one has ever seen the congregation "stopping with their hands their gaping ears;" nor is it upon record that the business of the City has been seriously disturbed by the weighty sound of "so many combinations."

There is a remarkable notice of an early Organ,

* Condensed from Dr. Hopkins's *Paper*.

circa A.D. 991, in the *Historia Ramesiensis*,* lately published in the Master of the Rolls' Series of Chronicles :

"Triginta præterea libras et fabricandos cupreos organorum calamos erogavit, qui in alveo suo super unam cochlearum denso ordine foraminibus insidentes, et diebus festis follium spiramento fortiore pulsati, prædulcem melodiam et clangorem, longius resonantem ediderunt."

So early as 1307 the Temple Church, London, had its "two pairs of Organs" in the Great Church, whose estimated value was xls., as we learn from an Inventory of the property of the Church taken in that year. The term "two pairs of Organs" continued to be used for some centuries, and indicated simply that the instrument was furnished with two sets of pipes. So says Dr. E. J. Hopkins, from whom the two succeeding paragraphs are taken.

There were *Positive* Organs—that is, Organs fixed permanently in a particular part of the Church; and there were *Portative* Organs, which could be removed from place to place. "In 1429 frequent payments were made to men for carrying *on foot* the King's portable organs from Windsor to Eltham, and from Eltham to Hertford."

The Keys were originally great levers, but were by degrees reduced in size and made in more comely shape, until at length, by the end of the fifteenth century, they were very little broader than they are at the present day. The Organ Manual, or Keyboard, in the middle of the fifteenth century

* *Chronicon Abbatie Ramesiensis*, p. 90, cap. 57, De Ædnotho juniore.

still continued to be in compass only about two octaves, sometimes even less. The great Organ in the Cathedral at Halberstadt, made in 1361, and repaired in 1495, had a manual extending only from tenor B (the second line in the bass) to A (the second space in the treble), an octave and a seventh, comprising fourteen diatonic and eight chromatic keys, twenty-two in all. The Organ at S. Sebald, Nurnberg, had twenty-seven notes; while that at Mildenberg had thirty.

A friend of my own, lately visiting Malta, made his way into the Chapel of a small religious house in Cita Vecchia, where he found an Organ whose keys were, he tells me, as broad as his hand. Unhappily his recollection of the exact locality is so vague that I cannot identify the Chapel, nor obtain exact particulars of the Organ to which these primitive keys belonged. It would have been played by blows from the fist, "the hands being protected by a covering to prevent their abrasion."

Such notices as the following may occasionally be met with in contemporary writings, but they are scarcely worth transcription :

"The 20th. daie, being Sainct Matthewes Eaven, was a Solemne Sermon made in Poules by the Bishopp of Lincolne, with procession, kneeling with their copes in the quire, and after that *Te Deum* song with the organns playing to give laude to God for the said Victorie, my Lord Major, with his brethren the Aldermen, being present, with all the comens in their lyveries, and that night great fiars were made in everie streete with banqueting for joy of the said Victorie."—September 20, 1547.*

One similar notice must suffice :

* Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, i. 186.

"Item the iiij. day of September was alsone a Sonday, and then the qweer of Powlles had a commandement from the dene from Cambryge at the byshope of Cantorberes visitation that he shulde leve the playnge of Organs at the devyne servys, and soo lefte it."—1552.*

The Library of the Cathedral is unable to supply examples of early Anthems sung in its services. One ritual manuscript alone remains which was probably used in S. Paul's; it is an *Antiphonary* of the fourteenth century,† and the music which it contains does not call for special remark.

But what is an Anthem?

"In Quires and Places where they sing here followeth the Anthern." Such are the words of the familiar rubric in the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer.

What, then, is an Anthem?

In Stainer and Barrett's *Dictionary of Musical Terms*, an Anthem is defined to be "a composition for voices, with or without Organ or other instrumental accompaniment, enjoined by the ritual of the Anglican Church to be sung at Morning and Evening Service 'in Choirs and Places where they sing.' The words are generally selected from the Psalms, or other portions of the Bible; but paraphrases of Scripture, and words in prose and metre of less authority are sometimes used."

* *Grey Friars Chronicle*, 75.

† I well remember hearing an illiterate guide describe to an admiring audience some five-and-twenty years ago a printed Latin *Antiphonarium*, which used to be the chief ornament of the Library-table, on this wise: "It's the first Book of Common Prayer in English. It's old music. It's four lines and square notes." With which lucid explanation some persons present seemed perfectly well satisfied.

This is, probably, a sufficient definition for our present purpose.

But if an earlier definition should be preferred, there is one to be found in the *Myrroure of our Lady*,* 1530 :

"*Antem* ys as moche to say as a sownynge before. for yt ys begonne before the Psalmes. yt is as moche to saye as a sownynge ayenste.

"*Antempnes* betoken chante. The Antempne ys begonne before the Psalme, and the Psalme ys tuned after the antempne, tokenynge that there may no dede be good but yf yt be begone of charite, and rewled by charite in the doynge."

The student will, no doubt, prefer to this somewhat mystical explanation the more exact phrases of the Rev. Walter W. Skeat in his delightful *Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*.†

It is not necessary seriously to discuss other proposed derivations, such as: *ἀνάθεμα*, in which the Anthem is treated as an invocation ; or, *ἄνθημα*, a flower, a word which seems to be found only in compounds.

In the charming tale related by the Prioress in Chaucer's story of the *Canterbury Pilgrimage*, there is an early use of the word. All readers are familiar with one lively portraiture drawn by the narrator.

"There was also a Nun, a Prioress . . .
Full well she sang the servicē divine,
Entuned in her nose full sweetely ;
And French she spake full fair and fetisly,

* *Early English Text Society* reprint, p. 94.

† *Anthem*, Latin, from Greek, formerly *antem* ; A.S. *antefn*, from late Latin *antiphona*, an anthem ; from Greek *ἀντίφωνα*, considered as feminine singular, but really neuter plural of *ἀντίφωνος*, sounding in response to, from the alternate singing in half choirs ; from Greek *ἀντί*, over against ; *φωνή*, voice, sound.

After the school of Stratford attē Bow,
For French of Paris was to her unknow.
At meatē was she well ytaught withal
She let no morsel from her lippēs fall
Ne wet her fingers in her saucē deep. . .
Her over-lippē wipēd she so clean
That in her cuppē was no farthing seen
Of greasē, when she drunken had her draught.”*

She tells the story of a little Christian child in a great city in Asia :

“ A little school of Christian folk there stood
Down at the farther end, in which there were
Children an heapē come of Christian blood
That learned in that schoolē year by year
Such manner doctrine as men used there :
This is to say, to singen and to read
As smallē children do in their childhede.”

This “ little clergion, seven year of age,” was very piously brought up :

“ This little child his little book learning
As he sat in the school at his primēre,
He Alma Redemptoris heardē sing,
As children learned their Antiphonere :
And hearkened aye the wordēs and the note,
Till he the firstē verse coude all by rote.”†

This *Antiphoner*, or Anthem book, was so called, says the *Catholicon Anglicum*, from the alternate repetitions and responses.

The Prioress, continuing, relates the story (told in many and far distant places) of the murder of the child by wicked Jews, who nearly severed his head from his body. The child, however, continued to sing the Hymn, *O Alma Redemptoris Mater*, loud and clear; and he tells his mother how the “ well

* Chaucer, *The Prologue*, 118-135.

† Chaucer, *The Prioress' Tale*, 13446-52.

of mercy, Christ's mother sweet," appeared to him :

"To me she came, and bade me for to sing,
This anthem verily in my dying."

This passage is cited, it will be understood, only as an early instance of the use of the word *Anthem* in literature. It has, besides, peculiar interest of its own, into which there is not space now to enter.

A word or two may also be said about other senses in which the term *Anthem* is employed.

In the account which Strype gives, in his *Annals of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth*, of the solemn obsequies of Henry II. of France, celebrated in S. Paul's Cathedral on the 8th and 9th of September, 1559, he says: "The offering finished, the Sermon began, by the elect of Hereford [Bishop Scory]; the elect of London, who should have preached, being sick; his Anthem [*i.e.*, his text] being *Veniet hora, et nunc est, quando mortui audient vocem Filii Dei, &c.* 'The hour shall come, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God.'"*

Nor was the word Anthem limited to sacred compositions. "The Boar's Head Carol, annually sung at Queen's College, Oxford, was, until recently, called an *Anthem* in the printed copies."†

And, I suspect, that when Sir John Falstaff‡ says, "For my voice, I have lost it with hollaing and singing of Anthems," the lusty Knight does not refer to hymns or godly ballads.

* Strype, *Annals*, i. 190. † Stainer and Barrett, *Dictionary*.

‡ 2 *King Henry IV.*, Act i., Sc. 2.

A few allusions to Anthem-singing at S. Paul's may be found in sixteenth century writers. Let these suffice :

1556. " [the xxiv day of November, being the eve of Saint Katharine, at six of the clock at night] Sant Katheryn lyght [went about the battlements of Saint Paul's with singing] and Sant Katheryn gohyng a prossessyon." It is Henry Machyn who speaks,* but unhappily his *Diary* is mutilated in this place, and the text is restored from Strype. He refers evidently to a procession in which the image of S. Katherine was carried about the Steeple, with lights, after the ancient custom. Important changes were then in progress :

" The 21. of Nouember *John Fecknam* late dean of Paules in London, was made Abbot of Westminster, was stalled, and tooke possession of the same : and 14 Monks more receiued the habit with him that day of the order of S. Benet."†

A remarkable passage in Bishop Pilkington‡ may well be quoted here, *in extenso*, although only a few words relate to the Anthem-singing in the Cathedral :

"God's House must be a house of prayer, and not the proud tower of Babylon, nor the pope's market place, nor a stews for bawds and ruffians, nor a horse fair for brokers, no, nor yet a bourse for merchants, nor a meeting-place for walking and talking. If a convenient place to meet for honest assemblies cannot be found nor had conveniently other where, a partition might be had to close up and shut the praters from

* Machyn's *Diary*, 119. Camden Society.

† Stow, *Annals*.

‡ Bishop Pilkington, *Confutation of an Addition*, etc., 539-541. Parker Society.

prayers, the walkers and janglers from well disposed persons, that they should not trouble the devout hearers of God's word, so that the one should not hear nor see the other. God has once again with the trumpet of his word, and the glad receiving of the people, thrown down the walls of Jericho, and the pope's bulwark there, by his own might, without the power of man, if man would consider it and fear the Lord. No place has been more abused than Paul's has been, nor more against the receiving of Christ's gospel: wherefore it is more marvel that God spared it so long, rather than that he overthrew it now.

"From the top of the steeple down within the ground no place has been free. From the top of the spire at coronations, or other solemn triumphs, some for vain glory used to throw themselves down by a rope, and so killed themselves vainly to please other men's eyes. At the battlements of the steeple sundry times were used their popish anthems to call upon their gods with torch and taper in the evenings. In the top of one of the pinnacles in Lollard's tower, where many an innocent soul has been by them cruelly tormented and murdered. In the midst alley was their long censer reaching from the roof to the ground, as though the Holy Ghost came in their censuring down in likeness of a dove. On the arches, though commonly men complain of wrong and delayed judgment in ecclesiastical causes, yet because I will not judge by hearsay, I pass over it, saving only for such as have been condemned there by Annas and Caiaphas for Christ's cause, as innocently as any Christians could be. For their images hanged on every wall, pillar, and door, with their pilgrimages, and worshipping of them, I will not stand to rehearse them, because they cannot be unknown to all men that have seen London, or heard of them. Their massing and many Altars, with the rest of their popish service, which he* so much extols, I pass over, because I answered them afore. The south alley for usury and popery, the north for simony, and the horse fair in the midst for all kinds of bargains, meetings, brawlings, murders, conspiracies, and the font for ordinary payments of money, are so well known to all men as the beggar knows his dish. The popish clergy began and maintained these, and godless worldlings defend them; where the poor protestant laments and would amend them. Judas Chapel under the ground,† with the Apostles' Mass so early in the morning was counted by report as fit a place to work a feat in as the stews or taverns. So that without and within, above the ground and under, over the roof and beneath, on the

* Probably the author of a reply to Bishop Pilkington's sermon on the burning of the steeple of S. Paul's, in 1561. The reply is entitled, *An Addition with an Appologie to the causes of Brinnyng of Paules Church*, etc., *ibid.*, 481.

† Profanely said. He means Jesus Chapel.

top of the steeple and spire down to the low floor, not one spot was free from wickedness, as the said Bishop did then in his sermon declare."

At Durham* it was the custom year by year to sing a *Te Deum* in the belfry on May Day, the anniversary of the Battle of Neville's Cross. The custom was discontinued during the troubles of the seventeenth century, "but was revived again on Restoration Day; and an Anthem is still sung on the top of the great Tower on that day by all the choristers and singers facing about to every side of the tower progressively, that they may be heard all around." Mr. Walcott adds, in a sentence which has suffered from too great condensation, that "one side was afterwards omitted, owing to the fall of a chorister."

Antiphonal or responsive singing can be traced back to very early times. A remarkable account of the old Jewish ritual is set forth in the First Book of *Chronicles*.† On some occasions the Choir seems to have been divided into three sections; as, for example, when the sons of the Kohathites, under Heman, a singer, stood in the centre, while the Gershomites, led by Asaph, stood on the right hand, and the Merarites, led by Ethan, stood on the left. Here are, apparently, three distinct choirs, each having its own leader or conductor; and it requires no great stretch of the imagination to suppose that

* Walcott, *Customs and Traditions of Cathedrals*, 2nd edit., 130 (quoting *Camden*, iii. 121). Compare the same author's *Sacred Archaeology*, s.v. Anthem.

† See chapters xv., xvi.; and *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, art. "Antiphon."

the three choirs would sing, sometimes separately, whilst at other times they would combine into one large chorus.

Psalms like the 24th were evidently composed for a *double* choir. It is scarcely possible to read that Psalm without perceiving that antiphonal recitation is of the very essence of its structure. The concluding verses especially—the *Lift up your heads, O ye gates!* and the loud inquiry, *Who is the King of glory?*—cannot be adequately rendered without responsive recitation.

Pliny, too, is understood to give evidence to antiphonal chanting in his familiar passage about the Christians of his day, who sang a Hymn to Christ, as God, by turns among themselves—*secum invicem*.

Socrates, Basil, Theodoret, Tertullian, Augustine—all testify to the use of antiphonal recitation. Antiphonal singing may be congregational, the assembly being divided into two or more choirs; a single voice, answered by the congregation; or, the alternate song of men and women, seated on opposite sides of the Church.

As early as Socrates the word *Antiphon* is used to denote the psalm or hymn, which was sung antiphonally. Then, in process of time, it came to mean a sentence, sometimes, though not always, taken from the Psalm itself, sung at the beginning and at the end of the Psalm, and usually defining the special sense in which the Psalm was to be understood. Later still, the word is taken to signify a passage from Holy Scripture, or some other

religious writing, in prose or in verse, set to music.

Those who desire a compendious and very able account of the Antiphon would do well to consult an excellent article upon the subject in the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, edited by Dr. Smith and Archdeacon Cheetham.*

The extant Anthem music of the English Church seems naturally to divide itself into three periods—the first from 1500 to the beginning of the Great Civil War; the second period from the Restoration to the birth, let us say, of Handel in 1685; the third period may take to itself the title of the Modern School.

Or, *these* three periods may be preferred with their distinctive names—the *Motett* period, the *Verse* period, and the *Modern* period.† The first of these extends from the time of the Reformation to the death of Henry Lawes—say, from 1550 to 1650; the second from 1670 to 1777, the time of the death of the elder Hayes; and the third from Thomas Attwood to the present time.

I gladly acknowledge my obligations, here and elsewhere, to that thoughtful writer and courteous gentleman the late Dr. Hullah, whose words I now employ. He remarks‡ that “the great difference,

* The article is written by the Rev. H. J. Hotham, vice-master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and has been laid under contribution in the present chapter.

† Stainer and Barrett's *Dictionary*. Sir Geo. Grove, *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, suggests yet a third division, in which the periods run from 1520 to 1625, 1650 to 1720, 1720 to the present time.

‡ Hullah, *Third or Transition Period of Musical History*, 4.

obvious surely to the least cultivated ear, between the music of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and that of our own time—between the music of the Old Masters and that of our immediate predecessors and contemporaries—results from the former having had views of the nature of a scale or key which were very different from ours. From this cause it is that a number of effects which to them were possibly pleasing, certainly tolerable, are to those whose tastes have been formed exclusively on contemporary music, unpleasing, if not intolerable; and that, *vice versâ*, combinations which the old theorists one and all forbade, and which only the most audacious of their immediate successors hesitatingly and tentatively ventured upon, are now matters of every day experience, and have even become essential, indispensable means of musical expression.”

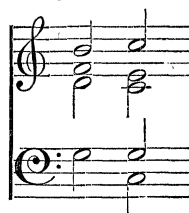
Who can now believe that what musicians call the “perfect cadence” was once startling and unfamiliar? The discord of the dominant seventh and its resolution is now the very commonest conclusion of a piece of music: ninety-nine pieces out of a hundred end with it. But yet there was a time “when all the theorists in Europe combined their voices into one savage howl of indignation against the musician who first had the courage to say he liked it.”* It seems simply incredible to most persons that the old musicians could have contrived to keep it out of their work.

What, then, is this “perfect cadence”?

* Hullah, *Third or Transition Period of Musical History*, 4, 6.

It is "the perfect cadence, or close, produced by the resolution of the discord of the dominant seventh on the chord of the tonic.

In these two chords is included every note but one of the scale to which they belong—C, D, E, F, G, and B. The first combination can only exist in one scale—that of C. The F natural proves that there can be no sharps; the B natural that it has no flats. The combination of these two notes, F and B, is not merely the characteristic, but the spring and source of modern harmony."*



The perfect cadence is found in the works of Josquin Deprès, who died at least ten years before Palestrina was born.†

In music, as in most other matters, fashions change; and, as Sir George Grove observes, the tendency of modern composers has been "to avoid full cadences in the course of a piece of music, and when they become necessary to vary them as much as possible."‡

Of the Church music before Palestrina, Dr. Hullah remarks:

"Musical learning had done its utmost. Every kind of contrapuntal artifice had been brought into play. Without a pun, every score might be said to

* Hullah, *Modern Music*, 88.

† Palestrina was born, it is believed, between 1513 and 1529. See Grove, *Dictionary*.

‡ Grove, *Dictionary*, art. "Cadence."

bristle with canon : canon in every interval ; canon by augmentation and diminution, *per arsin et thesin*, *per recte et retro*. As to the words, there was not an attempt—any attempt indeed under such a system would have been idle—to bring out their meaning, to give them force, or to make them intelligible. In fact, the theorists had had their way: too much learning had made them mad, and the monstrous fabric they had raised collapsed from its own weight and want of proportion.”*

It seems incredible, but it is true, that some of these Church musicians not only worked secular melodies of the day into their compositions, but sometimes even transplanted the secular words also : so that whilst the soprano, alto, and bass, might be singing the words of a Psalm, the tenor would be singing the words and the air of a love song. It became necessary to prohibit by authority the use of any Mass or Motett of which profane words formed an integral part.

All this seems so strange to-day as to be almost past belief but for the assurance of musical antiquaries that a hundred manuscripts are extant which may be cited in evidence of this monstrous profanity. Palestrina, however, was able to raise the standard of the Church music of his day. He appeared only just in time to prevent the total exclusion of music from the service of the Church.

Choirs are proverbially said to be somewhat difficult of management. Precentors may be comforted

* Hullah, *Modern Music*, 61, 62.

by being told that all their difficulties are, at any rate, not peculiar to the present order of affairs. The following verses of S. Bernard, directed against those who sing badly, are exceedingly well worthy of preservation :*

Detestatio contra perverse psallentes.

Qui psalmos rescant, qui verba recissa volutant,
Non magis illi ferent quam si male linguæ tacerent
Hi sunt qui psalmos corrumpunt nequiter almos.
Quos sacra scriptura damnat, reprobant quoque jura
Janglers, cum Japers, Nappers, Galpers, quoque Dralbers,
Momlers, Forskippers, Ourenners, sic Ourhippers,
Fragmina verborum Tuttivillus colligit horum.

Some of these verses appear with remarkable variations in the *Registrum Epistolarum*† of Archbishop Peckham :

Hii sunt qui psalmos corrumpunt nequiter almos.
Jangeler cum japer napper galper quoque dragger,
Momeler forskipper forrener sic overhipper.
Fragmina verborum Titivillus colligit horum.

Commentators have exhausted their ingenuity upon this passage. One specimen of interpretation will content the reader :

"*Tuttivillus*," says Sir John Hawkins, "a writer whose work is not now to be found:" which is not remarkable if Mr. Mackenzie Walcott is right when he says, *Titivillus*, "Belial's Bellman," the demon who, as "a learned Italian canonist assures us, lurks in choirs with a little wallet, into which he collects

* Hawkins, *History*, 246.

† *Registrum Epistolarum*, iii., cxxxiii. Printed from Lambeth MS., No. 460.

all elided syllables and false notes made by the singers.”*

No doubt there have been difficulties all along the centuries connected with choir management. If in S. Bernard's days there were the Janglers, the Japers, the Galpers, the Dralbers, and the rest of the outlandish crew, probably the fine gentlemen of later times may have been nearly as difficult to deal with.

Dr. J. R. Bloxam, in his *Magdalen College Register*,† has preserved a story illustrative of the lax discipline that prevailed in the Society under the rule of Dr. Geo. Horne, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, President of Magdalen in 1768. Among the singing clerks of the college was a certain Thomas Norris, well known in the musical world as a professional, and celebrated for his rendering of the opening passages in Handel's *Messiah*. “Unfortunately the Quire of Magdalen College had not often the opportunity of admiring his excellence. When admitted as Clerk, he was mildly desired by the President to attend at the Chapel occasionally. This he understood so literally as to make his appearance once a quarter, on the days that the Clerks received their salary. On these rare occasions a servant in livery preceded him with his surplice and hood.”

In these days, when almost every church has its choir, it seems scarcely credible that such words as those which follow, so “highly superior” and super-

* *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals*, 2nd edit., 219.

† *Registers of S. Mary Magdalen, Oxford*, ii., 105-110.

fastidious, could have been written only about a hundred years ago :*

“Lovers of mere harmony might receive great pleasure from Metrical Psalmody, in parts, devoid as it is of musical measure, and syllabic quantity, if it were well performed ; but that so seldom happens, that the greatest blessing to lovers of music in a parish church is to have an organ in it sufficiently powerful to render the voices of the clerk, and of those who join in his outcry, wholly inaudible. Indeed, all reverence for the Psalms seems to be lost by the wretched manner in which they are usually sung ; for, instead of promoting piety and edification, they only excite contempt and ridicule in the principal part of the congregation, who disdain to join, though they are obliged to hear, this indecorous jargon. There can be no objection to sober and well-disposed villagers meeting, at their leisure hours, to practise Psalmody together, in private, for their recreation ; but it seems as if their public performance might be dispensed with during Divine Service, unless they had acquired a degree of excellence far superior to what is usually met with in parish churches, either in town or country, where there is no organ.”

But to return from this long digression.

In modern music there are, speaking broadly, but two modes, the major and the minor. Our scales, whatever be the note on which we commence, are exactly like each other in this most important point, that the semitones fall in the same places. Whether we play in the key of C, or whether we play in the key of six sharps, the semitones are found in exactly the same relative positions.

Now this was by no means the system on which the old masters based their work. They had no less than seven authentic scales : and in these they left the sounds of the octave exactly as they found them, not introducing flats or sharps so as to make each scale precisely similar. In result, it will be

* Dr. Burney published his *History of Music* 1776—1789. See iii. 60-61.

seen that they possessed seven distinct scales, no two of which are alike, as in no two do the semi-tones fall in the same place.

In addition to these were seven plagal scales.

Tallis' *Evening Hymn* is a melody in a plagal mode: *Ein' Feste Burg*, a melody in an authentic mode.*

Tallis' well-known Service, and Farrant's *Call to Remembrance*, are characteristic examples of composition in that scale of which D is the final note.

Amongst the statutes of S. Paul's Cathedral, in a compilation drawn up by Bishop Baldock (who died in 1313), and continued by Dean Lisieux (who died in 1456), mention is made of *Cantus Organicus*, and it is expressly forbidden that this kind of music should be sung in the Vestibule of the Church.

What was this music? Sir John Stainer says:†

"It seems to have consisted of adding a part above a given melody at the interval of a fifth, and another below it at the interval of a fourth. The relation of the parts to the melody being strictly adhered to, as the melody proceeded there resulted a succession of parallel quarts, quints, and octaves, which would be intolerable to modern ears. The following is part of an example from Gerbertus (*De cantu et musica sacra a prima Ecclesiæ ætate usque ad præsens tempus*. 4°. 1774), altered to modern notation. The middle part is the melody, and was probably sung louder than the parts above and below it, which form the whole into an organum."

* Hullah, *Modern Music*, 78-82.

† *Registrum Statutorum et Consuetudinum Eccles. Cathed. S. Pauli*, 73, 74.



Dr. Hullah* observes that "Diaphony, the accompaniment of plain song with consecutive octaves fifths, and fourths, had died out in most places by the twelfth century. But *faux bourdon*, a somewhat improved variety of it, and extemporaneous descant were the nearest approaches to music made, even in the Pope's Chapel, by the best singers, up to the time of the return of the Papal Court to Rome in the year 1377."

"The music of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was generally characterized by breadth, coherence, and high finish; but, for the most part, it seems to us vague, from the continual over-lapping of one phrase by another, and inconsequent, from its unsatisfactory tonality—a piece, as a modern musician would say, often, or generally, ending in a different scale or key from that in which it began; or, what is worse, ending with a half-close or imperfect cadence, leaving the hearer in the expectation that the composer is going to say something more, when, as it proves, he has said all he has to say, and has wisely, of course, come to an end." Music like this may still be performed with pleasure—"it may be sometimes dull; it is never trite."†

In modern vocal music we desire, above all things, that the style of the music and the sentiment of the

* *Modern Music*, 39.

† Hullah, 10.

words should be in general accordance. Many a writer of the sixteenth century seems almost to have disregarded this accordance. "Palestrina has set the words, *Incipit Lamentatio Jeremiæ Prophetæ, Lectio prima*,"* to music as noble and affecting as any suggested to him by the most touching passages which follow in the *Lamentations* themselves."

"Neither was there any distinction of style between secular and sacred music at this period," nor even much later. "The Madrigal by Gibbons, *The Silver Swan*, and his Anthem, *Hosanna*, might change places, so that the Madrigal might be made an Anthem, and the Anthem a Madrigal, without any violation of character, and yet each would be counted a noble specimen of its class."†

Musicians have been, at least, during long periods of history, excessively conservative of old rules and traditions, protesting, might and main, against innovations and changes, even when they were great and manifest improvements. Thus a writer of the fifteenth century, Thomas of Walsingham, Prior of S. Albans, deprecates the "new character of late introduced, called a crotchet, which would be of no use did musicians remember that beyond the minimum subdivision ought to be made."‡

Nor did this spirit die with the fifteenth century.

"Monteverde has recorded that, in a passage of accompaniment which he brought forward at Venice

* "Here beginneth the first lesson of the *Lamentation* of Jeremiah the Prophet."—Hullah, 7.

† Stainer and Barrett, *Dictionary*.

‡ Barrett, *English Church Composers*.

in 1624, having, for the first time, substituted sixteen iterated semiquavers for one semibreve, in several successive bars, the performers refused at first even to try to play them, so monstrous and extravagant an innovation seemed this now most familiar of instrumental details."

"Up to the end of the sixteenth century instrumental music holds so low a place in comparison with vocal, that it hardly claims serious consideration as a part of musical history."*

Not that musical instruments were wanting as adjuncts to the Service of the Church.

S. Ambrose is said to have used instruments of music in the public Service of the Church at Milan.†

Not only Organs, but other instruments also, were used in Cathedrals in the time of Elizabeth. Viols were employed at Exeter in 1631; the lyre and harp at Hereford; cornets and sackbuts in Worcester at the reception of Elizabeth in 1575. Ravenscroft wrote in 1621 for Organs, lutes, and harps.‡

Organs and violins at S. Paul's are mentioned by that exceedingly scurrilous writer Hiceringill.§ He is speaking of the forms of worship of the English Church, which are very little to his taste:

"His *Cope*, his *Hood*, his *Surplice*, his *Cringing Worship*, his *Altar* with *Candles* on it, (most Nonsensically *unlighted* too) his *Bag-Pipes* or *Organs*, and in some places *Viols* and *Violins*, singing Men, and *singing*

* Hullah, 30, 33.

† Rimbault, *History of Organ*, edit. 1870, p. 17.

‡ Walcott, *Customs and Traditions*, 138.

§ Hiceringill, *Ceremony Monger*, 1689, 18.

Boys, &c. are all *so very like* Popery, (and all but the *Vestments* illegal) that I protest when I came in 1660, first from beyond Sea to *Pauls*, and *White-Hall*, I could scarce think myself to be in *England*, but in *Spain* or *Portugal* again, I saw so little Difference, but that their *Service* was in *Latine*, and ours in *English*; but less intelligeable and less *Edifying*, (for one half thereof) then *Latine*, by reason of the *Inarticulate Boatus and Braying*, whilst all the People read *half the Psalms*, with a Noise as confused, as the *Rumbling Thunder* (as I will prove more particularly by and by) that any man in the World that had seen *High-Mass* beyond the Sea, must say, That the contrivance of both was to keep people in *Ignorance*, the *Mother of Devotion*. *Faith comes by Hearing*, (saith the Scripture) but the *Papist* and Ceremony-monger, make as though it comes by *Seeing*, they are *all for a Show*, a vain Show."

It would have been a difficult task to content this man.

At the Coronation of Charles II., April 23, 1661, Pepys writes, "A great pleasure it was to see the Abbey . . . and all the officers of all kinds, so much as the very fiddlers in red vests."



MUSIC IN S. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

PART II. : CULTIVATION OF MUSIC--MUSICAL PRESS
GANGS—MUSICIANS IN S. PAUL'S :
REDFORD—BARNARD.



CHAPTER X.

MUSIC IN S. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL. PART II.: CULTIVATION OF MUSIC—MUSICAL PRESS-GANGS—MUSICIANS IN S. PAUL'S: REDFORD—BARNARD.



AT the beginning of the sixteenth century music was very generally studied.

“To be able to sing a part in the full pieces of the times was thought a necessary accomplishment in this age, not only for a private gentleman, but for a prince.” Charles V., who became Emperor of Germany in 1519, was a skilful musician, in proof of which his biographer, Sandoval, says that, in his Chapel, “the Friars often discovered him behind the door, as he sat in his own apartment, near the high altar, beating time and singing in parts with the performers; and if anyone was out, they could overhear him call the offender names, as *Red-headed Blockhead*,” etc.

“A composer from Seville, of my own acquaintance,” continues his biographer, “presented him with a book of motetts and masses; and when one

of these compositions had been sung as a specimen, the Emperor called his confessor, and said, 'See what a thief, what a plagiarist, is this son of a ——. Why, here,' says he, 'this passage is taken from one composer, and this from another,' naming them as he went on. All this while the singers stood astonished, as none of them had discovered these thefts, till they were pointed out by the Emperor."

"Charles IX., and his brother Henry III., in imitation of their father, used frequently to quit their places at Mass in order to join the Choir-men in performing the service at their desks; and were able to sing either the Treble or Counter tenor very correctly."*

Holinshed, the Chronicler, says of Henry VIII. that, during his progress from one palace to another,

"he exercised himself daylie in shooting, singing, dancing, wrestling, casting of the barre, plaieing at the recorders, flute, virginals, in setting of songs and making of ballades."†

Cardinal Wolsey drew up a set of regulations for the royal household, about the year 1526, in which it is provided that when the King was on a journey or progress, he should be accompanied by a Choir, consisting of six boys and six gentlemen, so that

* Burney, *History*, ii. 573-5. I wish to acknowledge, in the amplest way, my large indebtedness in chapters x. and xi. to the *Histories* of Sir John Hawkins and of Dr. Burney. Without their aid these chapters could not have been written. Probably a good deal of the material which those *Histories* supply could be obtained from no other source. If these chapters have any value it will be in their arranging and methodising this material. At the same time other sources of information have not been neglected.

† Holinshed, *Chronicle*, iii. 806, quoted in Burney, ii. 573.

there should be enough to sing a Mass in the morning and an Anthem in the afternoon.

Two entire Masses, composed by Henry VIII., and sung in his own Chapel, are mentioned by Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and by Bishop Burnet.*

Nor were the Royal family far behind the King in their attainments—Edward VI. played upon the lute; Mary upon the lute and the virginals; whilst Elizabeth herself was a musician of no mean order if she could play the pieces preserved in the manuscript called Queen Elizabeth's *Virginal Book*.

Camden says of her that "she understood well the Latin, French, and Italian tongues, and was indifferently well seen in the Greek. Neither did she neglect music, so far forth as might become a Princesse, being able to sing and play on the lute prettily and sweetly."

Sir James Melvil, in his *Memoirs*, preserves a very characteristic story about the Queen, to whom he was sent on an embassy in 1564 by Mary Queen of Scots. Elizabeth asked him many questions about Mary—how she dressed; what was the colour of her hair; was Mary's hair better than her own; which of the two was fairer; which highest in stature; and, lastly, did she play well? "Reasonably, for a Queen," said Sir James.

"The same day after dinner, my lord of Hunsden drew me up to a quiet gallery, that I might hear some music—(but he said that he durst not avow it)—where I might hear the Queen play upon the virginals. After I had hearkened a while, I took by the tapestry that hung before the door of the chamber, and seeing her back was toward the door, I

* Burney, ii. 572, 573.

entered within the chamber, and stood a pretty space hearing her play excellently well. But she left off immediately, so soon as she turned about and saw me. She appeared to be surprised to see me, and came forward, seeming to strike me with her hand ; alleging she used not to play before men, but when she was solitary to shun melancholy. She asked how I came there. I answered, as I was walking with my lord Hunsden, as we passed by the chamber door I heard such a melody as ravished me, whereby I was drawn in ere I knew how ; excusing my fault of homeliness, as being brought up in the Court of France, where such freedom was allowed ; declaring myself willing to endure what kind of punishment her Majesty should be pleased to inflict upon me for so great offence. Then she sate down low upon a cushion, and I upon my knees by her ; but with her own hand she gave me a cushion to lay under my knee, which at first I refused, but she compelled me to take it. She enquired whether my Queen or she played best. In that, I found myself obliged to give her the praise.”*

It must, however, be frankly admitted that the Queen's taste in the selection of musical instruments to play during her banquets hardly commends itself to modern ears, if it is true, as Henxner states,† that she used to be regaled during dinner “ with twelve trumpets and two kettle-drums, which, together with fifes, cornets, and side-drums, made the hall ring for half an hour together :” for certainly the materials for a noise “ most tolerable and not to be endured ” are here provided.

Sir John Hawkins thinks that the proficiency in music of the Royal family may have had much to do with the retention of Choral Music in Cathedrals, against which the Genevan Protestants used many an argument ; and in support of his view it must be remembered that in 1536 the Clergy of the lower

* Burney, *Hist. Music*, iii. 13-15 ; quoting Camden, *Annales*, transl. by R. N., 3rd edit., 1635, fol., p. 6. Melvil, *Memoirs*, 2nd edit., Edinburgh, 1735.

† Henxner, *Itinerarium*, edit. 1757, p. 53 ; quoted in Burney, iii. 143.

House of Convocation presented a protestation to the King, in which they declared that amongst the faults and abuses of the day, there were those who said that "Syngyng, and saying of mass, matens, or evensong, is but roryng, howling, whistelyng, mummyng, conjuryng, and jogelyng, and the playing at the organys a folish vanitie."* But happily their voices did not prevail.

England had by this time its own noble school of Cathedral music. As Dr. Hullah observes, "In the sixteenth century we not only sang and played as much and as well as our neighbours, but we sang and played our own music."†

One of the earliest names of an organist of the Cathedral is that of John REDFORD, Organist, Almoner, and Master of the Choristers of S. Paul's, between the years 1530 and 1540. Dr. Rimbault selects his Anthem, *Rejoice in the Lord alway*, as one of the illustrations of the first volume of the *Motett Society's* Publications: the Anthem is frequently sung in the Cathedral at the present day, and is characterized by Sir George Grove as "remarkable for its melody and expression,"‡ a commendation which it well deserves. Dr. Rimbault adds that he himself possessed several of Redford's Anthems and Pieces for the Organ.

What is known of Redford comes from a very un-

* Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. i., part 2, p. 364.

† Hullah, *Hist. of Modern Music*, 70.

‡ *Dictionary of Musicians*, art. "Redford." The anthem is also printed in the Appendix to Hawkins' *History of Music*, and has been republished in a cheap form by Messrs. Novello.

expected source. Tusser, the Author of the *Five Hundred good points of Husbandrie*, was one of his pupils, and immortalizes his master in the following quaint piece of autography :

"It came to pass that born I was,
Of lineage good and gentle blood,
In Essex laier in village faier
That Rivenhall hight :
Which village lide by Banktree side,
There spend did I mine infancy,
There then my name in honest fame
Remained in sight.

"I yet but young, no speech of tong,
Nor teares withall that often fall
From mothers eies when child out cries
To part her fro ;
Could pittie make good father take,
But out I must to song be thrust ;
Say what I would, do what I could,
His mind was so.

"O painefull time ! for every crime
What toosed eares, like baited beares !
What bobbed lips, what yerkes, what nips,
What hellish toies !
What robes—how bare ! what colledge fare !
What bread—how stale ! what penny ale !
Then Wallingford how wert thou abhor'd
Of silly boies !

"Thence for my voice, I must (no choice)
Away of forse like posting horse,
For sundry men had placards then
Such child to take :
The better brest, the lesser rest
To serve the queere, now there now here ;
For time so spent, I may repent,
And sorrow make.

"But marke the chance, myself to vance,
By friendship's lot to Paules I got ;
So found I grace a certain space
Still to remaine

With Redford there, the like no where
For cunning such and vertue much
By whom some part of musicke art
So did I gaine.

"From Paule's I went, to Eaton sent
To learn streightwaies the latin phraies,
Where fifty three stripes given to mee
At once I had
For fault but small, or none at all,
It came to pas thus beat I was
See Udall, see, the mercie of thee
'To me poore lad.'"

Nicholas Udall was a Master of Eton, famous not only for his elegant scholarship, but also for his severity to his pupils, of whom divers ran away to escape being beaten.

These verses bear testimony to an ancient custom that existed in the Chapel Royal, "perhaps coeval with its establishment, of pressing men and boys with good voices for the service of the Choir. This practice may be traced as far back as the time of Richard III., in the second year of whose reign a warrant was issued to John Melyonek, one of the Gentlemen of the Chapel, in the following terms :

"RIC: &c. To all and every our subjects, as well spirituall as temporell, these letters hering or seeing, greeting. We let you wite, that for the confidence and trust we have in our trusty welbeloved servaunt, John Melyonek, one of the Gentilmen of our Chapell, and knowing also his expert habilitie and connyng in the science of musique, have licenced him, and by these presents licence and give him auctoritie, that within all places in this our realme, as well Cathedral-churches, colleges, chappells, houses of religion, and all other franchised and exempt places, as elliswhere, our Colege Roil at Wyndesor reserved and except, may take and sease for us and in our name all such singing men and children, being expart in the said science of musique, as he

* Hawkins' *History*, edit. Novello, 537.

can finde, and thinke sufficient and able to do us service. Wherefore, &c. Yeven, &c., at Nottingham, the xvj day of September, A^o. Secundo." [1484-5.]*

Similar commissions "to take up well-singing boys for furnishing the Royal Chapels" are frequent among the Patent Rolls of the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth centuries.

The special exemption in favour of S. George's Chapel, Windsor, was confirmed and continued by Elizabeth, who graciously extended it to S. Paul's Cathedral:

"ELIZ. R. Whereas our castle of Windsor hath of old been well furnished with singing men and children. We, willing it should not be of less reputation in our days, but rather augmented and encreased, declare that no singing men or boys shall be taken out of the said chapel by virtue of any commission, not even for our Household chapel. And we give power to the bearer of this to take any singing men or boys from any chapel, our own Household and S. Paul's only excepted. Given at Westminster, the 8th day of March, in the second year of our reign.

"ELIZABETH R."†

In 1585 the Queen further granted to Thomas Gyles, Master of the children at S. Paul's, a roving commission to kidnap for the Cathedral Service any apt boys, in any place in England or in Wales:

"By the Queen

"ELIZABETH R.

"Whereas we have authorised our servaunte Thomas Gyles, maister of the children of the cathedrall church of St. Paule within our citie of London, to take up suche apte and meete children as are most fitt to be instructed and framed in the arte and science of Musicke and singing, as may be had and founde out within any place of this our realme of England or Wales, to be by his education and bringing up

* Rimbault, *Old Cheque Book*, p. vii.

† Dr. Burney, *General History of Music*, iii. 23. (The original is in the Chapter House at Windsor; and a copy amongst the Ashmolean MSS. at Oxford, No. 1113).

made meete and hable to serve us in that behalf, when our pleasure is to call for them. WE therefore by the tenoure of these presents will and require you that ye permitt and suffer from henceforthe our said servaunte Thomas Gyles, and his deputie or deputies, and every of them, to take up in anye Cathedrall or collegiate churches, and in every other place or places of this our realme of England and Wales, suche childe and children as he or they, or anye of them, shall find and like of, and the same childe and children, by virtue hereof, for the use and service aforesaid, with them, or anye of them, to bring away without anye your lette, contradictions, staye, or interruptions to the contrarie. Charginge and commanding you, and everie of you, to be aydinge, helpinge, and assistinge unto the above named Thomas Gyles, and his deputie or deputies, in and aboute the execution of the premisses, for the more spedie, effectuall, and better accomplyshing thereof from tyme to tyme, as you, and everie of you, doe tender our will and pleasure, and will answer for doinge the contrarie at your perille.

“Yeven under our Signet at our Manour of Greenwich, 26 day of Aprill, in the xxvii yeare of our reign.

“To all and singular Deanes, Provostes, Maisters and Wardens of Collegies, and all Ecclesiastical Persons and Ministers, and to all other our Officers, Mynisters, and Subjectes, to whome in this case it shall appertayne, and to everie of them greetinge.”*

By virtue of some such warrant, Master Tusser was impressed by the musical press-gang, and in due time found himself under the care of the kindly John Redford.

There can be no doubt that towards the middle of the sixteenth century the Music School of S. Paul's Cathedral had attained very great celebrity. Its Master, Thomas Mulliner, author of a *Boke for y^e Organe or Virginalls*, must have been a man of no little ability; and, certainly, he was very fortunate in his pupils.

Amongst these must be mentioned John Shephard, who was appointed instructor of the choristers of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1542.

* Dr. Burney, *Hist. Mus.*, iii. 24, 25.

Morley, in his *Introduction*, speaks of Fairfax, Taverner, Shephard, Parsons, and Bird, as "famous Englishmen, who have been nothing inferior to the best composers on the Continent."*

John SHEPHARD "studied at Oxford twenty years and obtained a bachelor's degree. In 1554 he supplicated for that of doctor, but it does not appear by the registers that he obtained it. Some of his compositions are extant in a book entitled 'Mornyng and Evenyng Prayer and Communion, set forthe in foure partes, to be song in churches, both for men and children, wyth dyvers other godly prayers and Anthems, of sundry mens doynge. Imprinted at London by John Day, dwelling over Aldersgate, beneath Saint Martins, 1565.' Others in manuscript are among the archives in the Music School at Oxford." Sir John Hawkins prints a short Anthem by Shephard, composed for S. Stephen's Day; and the Motett Society has published an Anthem, *Haste Thee, O God, to deliver me*, to which is affixed the date 1570. To Sir John Hawkins we are also indebted for a small fragment of Shephard's music, which he entitles "a Point."†

Shephard was "an eminent Church musician of the sixteenth century," says Dr. Rimbault,‡ very appreciatively. Less courteously, Dr. Burney, referring to an example given by Sir John Hawkins, delivers himself thus :

"If we were to judge of John Shephard by a specimen that has lately been given of his abilities, he would seem the most clumsy Con-

* Burney, *Hist.*, iii. 66. † Hawkins, 358. ‡ *Preface, Motett Society.*

trapuntist of them all, and not only appear to be less dexterous in expressing his ideas, but to have fewer ideas to express ; yet in scoring a movement by this author, from a set of manuscript books, belonging to Christ Church College, Oxon, he appears to me superior to any composer of Henry VIII.'s reign ; in this production, with which we shall present the reader,* we have a regular design and much ingenuity in the texture of the parts, three of which, having carried on a Fugue for some time in the fifth above and eighth below the subject, are joined by two other parts, which form almost a Canon between the superius and second bass to the end of the movement."†

Another pupil of Mulliner's was the well-known "Thomas TALLIS, the Master of Bird, and one of the greatest musicians, not only of this country, but of Europe, during the sixteenth century, in which so many able contrapuntists were produced." He was born early in the reign of Henry VIII. If his epitaph is to be believed—

"He serv'd long tyme in Chappel with grete prayse
Fower Sovereignes reignes (a thing not often seene) ;
I mean King Henry, and Prynce Edward's dayes,
Quene Marie, and Elizabeth our Quene."‡

It is he who enriched the melody of the Cathedral service with admirable harmony—"chiefly in common chords or fundamental harmony to each note of the diatonic scale"—very staid, solemn, and beautiful. His morning and evening service are still occasionally heard in S. Paul's.

He composed a song, still extant, in Forty Parts, each part having a real share in the short subjects of fugue and imitation which are introduced into

* The example which Dr. Burney prints, ii. 587-8, appears to be a fragment of a *Magnificat*, to the words *Esurientes implevit bonis, et divites dimisit inanes*.

† Dr. Burney, *Hist. of Music*, ii. 565, 4 · Lond., 1782.

‡ *Ibid.*, iii. 71-76.

the composition.* The entire work consists of 138 bars, in *alla breve* time. After an account of this achievement, far too technical to be transferred to these papers, Dr. Burney ends his notice with this delightful passage, a very fair specimen of his magniloquent style: "Thus this stupendous, though perhaps Gothic, specimen of human labour and intellect is carried on in alternate flight, pursuit, attack, and choral union to the end; when the Polyphonic Phenomenon is terminated by twelve bars of universal chorus in quadragintesimal harmony."

Dr. Hullah speaks well within bounds when he says, that "No week, perhaps no day, passes over without, in some one or more of our Cathedrals, the voice of Tallis or of Gibbons being made to speak."†

Tallis' service is usually said to be in the key of D minor, it is really in the Dorian mode—"the key of D minor made out of the notes of the scale of C."

Richard FARRANT was a gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1564, and afterwards Master of the Children of S. George's Chapel, Windsor, where he was also one of the Organists. He died November 30, 1580.

Two of his Anthems, *Call to Remembrance* and *Hide not Thou Thy Face*, were for many years performed in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, during the distribution of the Royal Bounty on Maunday Thursday. But for sweetness and pathos the palm must be given to his beautiful anthem, *Lord, for Thy*

* It was printed, for the first time, in 1888.

† Hullah, *Hist. of Modern Music*, 71.

tender mercies' sake, the words of which are taken from Lydley's *Prayers*.*

Call to Remembrance, says Dr. Hullah,† is "a fine and thoroughly characteristic example of the First Tone, of which D is the final:" just as the familiar *Non nobis, Domine* is an example of the Seventh Tone.

In *Lord, for Thy tender mercies' sake* the music and the words flow admirably together. It is a marked contrast to much of the music of this period in which "the ingenuity of the treatment seems to have been more considered than its adaptation to the words." Many writers of the time seem to have thought that the merit of a musical composition consisted more in the intricacy of its structure than in its pure melody and exquisite harmony.

Lovers of Handel, Mendelssohn, Spohr, would not hesitate to confess to a decided impatience of mere musical exercises. It may be a great effort of genius to write music, as the old composers sometimes did, which can be sung when the sheet on which it is written is reversed in the hand. But if words are set to music, surely the words and the music should stand in a well-defined relation to each other; and it should not be a matter of indifference whether the singer is to recite the sublime words of the *Te Deum*, or those of the multiplication table.

Dr. Burney is not far wrong when he says:‡

"A critic should have none of the contractions and narrow partialities of such as can see but a small angle of the art, of whom there are some

* *Dictionary of Musicians*, art. "Farrant." † *Modern Music*, 82.

‡ Burney, *History*, iii., p. v., vi.

so bewildered in fugues and complicated contrivances that they can receive pleasure from nothing but canonical answers, imitations, inversions, and counter subjects; while others are equally partial to light, simple, frivolous melody, regarding every species of artificial composition as mere pedantry and jargon. A chorus of Handel and a graceful opera song should not preclude each other: each has its peculiar merit; and no one musical production can comprise the beauties of every species of composition."

I heartily commend his further utterance:

"I can very readily forgive the Man who admires a different Music from that which pleases me, provided he does not extend his hatred or contempt of my favourite music to myself, and imagine that on the exclusive admiration of any one style of music, and a close adherence to it, all wisdom, taste, and virtue depend."

William BIRD, a pupil of Tallis, was born about the year 1538; he was senior chorister at S. Paul's in 1554, and was also a chorister in the Chapel Royal. From 1563 to 1569 he was Organist of Lincoln, from which office he was translated to London to be a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, where he and Tallis were Organists.

In 1575 he published, in association with his master, Tallis, his *Cantiones Sacrae*, dedicated to Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor. On the back of the title-page he sets down a series of reasons "to persuade every one to learn to sing." "It doth strengthen all parts of the breast, and doth open the pipes. It is a singular good remedie for a stuttering and stammering in the speech. It is the only way to know where nature hath bestowed the benefit of a good voyce, which gift is so rare, as there is not one among a thousand that hath it: and in many that excellent gift is lost, because they want art to expresse nature. The better the voyce is, the meeter

it is to honour and serve God therewith: and the voyce of man is chiefly to be employed to that end."* For which, and other reasons, he breaks out into verse—a Bird must sing:

"Since singing is so good a thing
I wish all men would learn to sing."

In Queen Elizabeth's *Virginal Book* are nearly seventy of his compositions, many of them very elaborate and difficult. They consist chiefly of old tunes, ballads, and the like, with intricate variations: in the second of the pieces, Bird presents the tune of an old ballad with the accompaniment varied no less than sixteen different ways.

Peacham, in his *Complete Gentleman*, speaks of him as "our Phoenix, Mr. William Byrd;" styles his *Cantiones* as "meere angelicall and divine;" and whilst he says that he was "of himselfe naturally disposed to gravity and piety," is careful to add that his *Virginella* "cannot be mended by the first Italian of them all."

"A Mass for Five Voices, composed between the years 1553 and 1558 for the Old Cathedral of S. Paul by William Byrd," was edited in 1841 by Dr. Rimbault for the *Musical Antiquarian Society*. The learned editor prefixes to the Mass an admirable notice of Bird, in which he has probably collected all that can now be known about him.

He discusses at some little length Bird's claim to the authorship of the well-known Canon, *Non Nobis, Domine*; and although he does not dogmatize about

* Dr. Burney, *History*, iii. 83-98.

the matter, he appears disposed to believe that this composition is the Canon said to be preserved in the Vatican, engraven on a golden plate. He cites some verses by Herbert, addressed to Dr. Blow, and printed in the *Introduction* to the *Amphion Anglicus*, in which, speaking of music and its progress in this country, the poet says :

“ They yielded such fair, golden, lasting fruit
As gained in Rome itself the best repute :
And there the rich produce does still remain
Preserv'd intire in the Vatican.”

Burney assigns *Non Nobis* to Bird without any hesitation.

The subject of the Canon *Non Nobis* is used by Handel in the *Hallelujah Chorus*, in *I will sing unto the Lord (Israel in Egypt)*, and in many other places : it is heard in the last chorus of Mendelssohn's *S. Paul* ; its opening clause is used by Palestrina in his Madrigal, *When flowing meadows deck the year*. Just as, in like manner, a subject which Bird employs for the words *Sed Tu, Domine* amongst the *Cantiones Sacræ* is employed by Bach and Handel, Mozart and Mendelssohn.* These themes are now, in short, common property.

Bird belongs to the Elizabethan age, but he lived till the accession of Charles I. His works must have exercised a great influence over his contemporaries : Dr. Hullah does not hesitate to speak of his anthem, *Bow Thine ear*, as all but unrivalled, certainly unsurpassed, in construction, expression, and even effect.

* *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, art. “ Non nobis.”

A most remarkable panegyric of Bird is found in some verses written in 1591 by one John Baldwin, a singing man of Windsor, and affixed at the end of a MS. collection of motetts and madrigals, amongst which are some compositions by our hero.

Yet let not straingers bragg, nor they these soe commende
For they maye now geve place and sett themselves behynde,
An Englishe man, by name, Willm Birde for his skill
Which I should haue sett first, for soe it was my will.
Whose greate skill and knowledge dothe excelle all at this tyme
And far to strange countries abroade his skill dothe shyne.
Famus men be abroade, and skilful in the arte,
I do confesse the same and will not from it starte ;
But in Ewropp is none like to our Englishe man,
Which doth so farre excede, as trulie I it scan,
As ye cannot finde out his equale in all thinges
Throwghe out the Worlde so wide, and so his fame now ringes.
With fingers and with penne he hath not now his peere,
For in this World so wide is none can him come neere.
The rarest man he is in musicks worthy arte
That now on earthe dothe lue : I speake it from my harte
Or heere to fore hath been, or after him shall come.
None such I feare shall rise that may be calde his sonne.
O famus man ! of skill and judgements greates profounde
Lett heauen and earth ringe out thy worthe praise to sownde.
* * * * *
Fare well melodious Birde, fare well sweet musickes frende.
* * * * *
Lo heere I end, farewell, committinge all to GOD
Who kepe us in His grace and shild us from His rodd.*

Finis.

J^o. BALDWIN.

Bird died July 4, 1623, surviving his master, Tallis, thirty-eight years. The *Old Cheque Book* of the Chapel Royal, in its brief record of his death, styles him "The Father of Music," possibly in reference to his age.

Hawkins says, that "he seems to be the first

* Hawkins, *History*, 470.

among English Musicians that ever made an Essay in the composition of that elegant species of vocal harmony, the *Madrigal*.*

Thomas MORLEY, born towards the middle of the sixteenth century—educated, as it is believed, in the Choir of S. Paul's, and certainly a pupil of Bird—appears to have been Organist of the Cathedral in 1591. He seems to have held the office but for a short time. In his publications he speaks of himself only as Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, to which office he was admitted in 1592, serving first as Epistler, and then as Gospeller. He is believed to have died in 1604. Some of his secular works still hold their place in popular estimation. To mention two only will suffice :

Now is the Month of Maying.

April is in my mistress' face.

A sentence from the preface to his *Plaine and easie Introduction to practicall Musicke*† throws great light on the state of musical culture in his day :

Philomathes. “Supper being ended, and musicke bookes according to the custome being brought to the table, the mistress of the house presented mee with a part, earnestly requesting me to sing, but when, after many excuses I protested unfeignedly that I could not, everie one began to wonder, yea, some whispered to others, demanding how I was brought up.”

Morley is known to musical antiquaries by the treatise just mentioned; by his Canzonets, Madrigals, and Ballets, issued in 1593 to 1598; his *Triumphs of Oriana* for five and six voices, composed by divers several authors, published in 1601; as well as by

* Hawkins, *History*, 467. † Published in 1597, and again in 1608.

some pieces for the Virginal, in Queen Elizabeth's *Virginal Book*. To the Church musician he is best known by his *Burial Service*, which was thought worthy to be sung at the Funeral of George II. in Westminster Abbey, and is, indeed, an admirable specimen of his style. Dr. Burney bestows high praise upon this work. Of one passage in it—that to the words, *Shut not Thy merciful ears to our prayers*—he says it “is extremely beautiful in the three essentials of good music—melody, harmony, and accent. Every part of it is chantante, or sings, without any seeming subserviency to the rest.”* At *Suffer us not at our last hour*, the “greatest musical art is united with the happiest verbal expression.”

William MUNDY was the father (not, as some writers say, the son) of Dr. John Mundy, who was one of the Organists of the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, and of the Chapel of S. George at Windsor. Both father and son are mentioned in John Baldwin's uncouth rhyme :

“I will beginne with White, Shepper, Tye, and Tallis,
Parsons, Gyles, Mundie th'oulde one of the queenes pallis,
Mundie yonge, th'ould man's son.”†

William Mundy, “th'oulde one of the queenes pallis,” was a Vicar-Choral of S. Paul's, and on February 21, 1563-4, was sworn a gentleman of the Chapel Royal. The date of his death is not recorded. To him is ascribed, by competent authority, the authorship of the Anthem, *O Lord, the Maker of*

* Dr. Burney, *Hist. Music*, iii. 99-105. † Hawkins, *History*, 470.

all things, which Dean Aldrich ascribes to Henry VIII. The authority for the former attribution is John Barnard, "the first who published a Collection of Cathedral Music,"* issuing in 1641 "The First Book of Selected Church Musick, consisting of Services and Anthems, such as are now used in the Cathedrall and Collegiat Churches of this Kingdome. Never before printed. Whereby such Bookes as were heretofore with much difficulty and charges, transcribed for the use of the Quire, are now to the saving of much Labour and expence, publisht for the general good of all such as shall desire them either for publick or private exercise. Collected out of divers approved Authors." This is a work of very considerable rarity. It was "Printed by Edward Griffin and are to be solde at the signe of the Three Lutes, in Paul's Alley, 1641."

Barnard was one of the Minor Canons of S. Paul's in the time of Charles I., the Cathedral of which Mundy had been a Vicar-Choral, and where, it may fairly be assumed, a true tradition would be preserved.

Dr. Rimbault suggests that the music may have been attributed to the King, because the words of it are found in Henry VIII.'s *Primer*, put forth in 1546, where, indeed, they form the Hymn in the Compline."†

Dr. Barrett‡ mentions that "an early seventeenth-

* *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, art. "Barnard."

† Rimbault, *Old Cheque Book*. See also the Reprint of the *Primer*, 1710, signature F 2.

‡ Barrett, *Church Composers*, 10.

century manuscript, belonging to the Song School of Durham Cathedral," assigns the Anthem to John Shephard. Probably the true authorship cannot now be determined; but it cannot be denied that Barnard's authority is of considerable weight.

Dr. Hullah, in his *Lectures on Musical History*,* observes very justly that with the seventeenth century begins in England, as elsewhere, the transition period of musical history—a period marked not only by increasing skill in instrumental performance, but especially "by continually increasing attention to the conformity of notes with words; in fact, the diligent study of everything which goes to perfect what is popularly called *expression* in music." Milton, himself an excellent musician, thus addresses Lawes:

"Harry, whose tuneful and well measured song
First taught our English music how to span
Words with just note and accent—not to scan
With Midas' ears, committing short and long."

From which "it is plain that the close alliance of sound and sense to which the musical compositions of Henry Lawes owed their favour was a rarity even in the middle of the seventeenth century." Certainly Lawes was "possessed of a vein of melody quite unprecedented among his countrymen." Had he been a better musician, he might have attained that immortality which Milton predicts for him.

It is of Lawes that Hawkins tells the quaint story, which has been often repeated, that he cen-

* *Third or Transition Period*, 183.

sured "the fondness of the age for songs sung in a language which the hearers do not understand ; and, to ridicule it, mentions a song of his own composition, printed at the end of the book, which is nothing else than an index containing the initial words of some old Italian songs or madrigals ; and this index, which read together made a strange medley of nonsense, he says he set to a varied air, and gave out that it came from Italy, whereby it passed for an Italian song."*

* Hawkins, *History*, 579.



MUSIC IN S. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

MUSICIANS: THE INTERREGNUM—BRIND.



CHAPTER XI.

MUSIC IN S. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL. MUSICIANS: THE
INTERREGNUM—BRIND.



OF the period of the Interregnum little need be said from a musician's point of view. Dr. Burney sums up the history of the time in a single pregnant sentence:*

"Organs were taken down, organists and Choirmen turned adrift, and the art of music, and indeed all the arts but those of killing, canting, and hypocrisy, were discouraged."

The Puritan bigots seem to have hated musical instruments. At a Convocation held in Bridgwater in 1655, the question was raised:

"Whether a believing man or woman, being head of a family, in this day of the gospell, may keepe in his or her house an instrument of musicke, playing on them or admitting others to play thereon?"

The answer was clear and definite:

"It is the duty of the saintes to abstaine from all appearance of evil, and not to make provision for the flesh to fulfil y^e lusts thereof."†

* Burney, *History*, iii. 389.

† I am indebted to Dr. Hopkins for this passage.

This is not the place to enter fully into a discussion of this fruitful subject, but a curious sidelight is thrown upon the matter in the introductory epistle, prefixed to a little book, of which the following is the title :

A Short Direction For The Performance Of Cathedrall Service. Published For The Information Of Such Persons, as are Ignorant of it, And shall be call'd to officiate in Cathedrall or Collegiate Churches, where it hath formerly been in use. By E. L., Oxford. Printed by William Hall for Richard Davis. 1661.

The Epistle is addressed :

To all Gentlemen that are true Lovers of Cathedrall Musicke.
Gentlemen,

It is too well known what hath bin practised in Cathedrall Churches (in order to the publique worship of God, for many years past) instead of Harmony and Order, And therefore it may be rationally supposed, that the Persons and things relating to both, are not easily rallyed, after so fatall a Route. But Since the mercy of God hath restored a Power, and by it put life into the Law, to promote and settle it as it was. It hath been judged convenient, to revive the generall practise of the ordinary performance of Cathedrall service for the use of them, who shall be called to it, and are desirous to doe it with devotion and alacritie. To this end a Person is willingly imployed, who hath seen, understood, and bore a part in the same from his Childhood : And therein thinks himselfe happy to be now a Meane Instrument to doe God, and the Church service, in such a time when there are so many Cathedralls to be furnisht, and so few Persons knowing enough (in this particular) to performe the solemnity requisite in them : He hath therefore put together and published, the Ordinary and Extraordinary parts both for the Priest, and whole Quire. Hoping that his Brethren in the same imployment will look on it as Candidly as he intends it, since what is done, is only as a help to those that are Ignorant of it. The Tunes in foure parts, to serve only so long, till the Quires are more learnedly Musicall, and thereby a greater variety used.

The great Civil War, and the troubles of the Interregnum, had violently interrupted the progress of sacred music. It is melancholy reading to turn back to the contemporary records which relate the sad story of the profanations wrought by the Parlia-

mentarian army. You need not seek for them in the pages of Royalist historians, who might be imagined to have some strong bias against Cromwell's party—the evidence gathered from the writings of Puritans themselves supplies the most ample condemnation of their doings. They pillaged the Cathedrals; they pulled down the Organs; they brake down the carved work with axes and hammers; they tore in pieces the Books of Common Prayer; they burnt, irreparable loss, the prick-song books, as they were called—that is, the music-books of the Choir; the glorious painted glass, glowing with ruby and with emerald, they destroyed—even the monuments of the dead found no favour at their sacrilegious hands. This, and much more, their own authors confidently and proudly affirm. They quartered their horses in divers Cathedrals—notably in Worcester, Durham, and S. Paul's. At Lichfield they hunted cats with dogs daily in the Church itself; and in the same exquisite sanctuary, they brought a calf to the font, and pretended to baptize it—at S. Paul's they baptized a colt. Our modern propriety of language will not allow us to tell the unutterable profanities with which they desecrated the holiest places.

The Choral Service was broken off, the Organs had been destroyed, and the Organists had lost their occupation; the Divine art of sacred music was practised, if at all, in secret; the Choirs were utterly dispersed.

“The bigots of the iron time
Had judged ‘the holy’ art a crime.”

When all this tyranny was overpast, it became a

work of no small labour to gather together the scattered elements, and to combine them once more into harmonious union.

But the damage inflicted in the great Rebellion was never, till our own day, adequately remedied. At Durham, in 1634, there were 12 sub-canons, 30 singing men, and 10 boys; at Worcester, 20 minor canons, 20 singing men, and 10 boys; at Canterbury, 6 minor canons, 18 singing men, and 40 boys; at Winchester 23, at Exeter 16, singing men. These goodly numbers never re-assembled.

Let the following notes, drawn from Dr. John Alcock, Organist, Vicar, and Master of the Children of the Cathedral at Lichfield, tell their own tale.* The extracts will show to what a very low estate some of the Cathedrals had sunk towards the close of the eighteenth century—a result attributable, in part, at least, to the miserable robbery and impoverishment of the two preceding centuries.

Traces of the same low estate may be found in the days of Samuel Sebastian Wesley. Let one incident suffice: Easter Day was near at hand: for

* *Six and Twenty Select Anthems in Score . . . composed by John Alcock, Doctor in Music. 1771.*

"This book was presented by Richard Clark, Vicar-Choral, to the Cathedral library of S. Paul, April 16, 1845.

"This musical library was begun April 15, 1845, by the purchase of Dr. Boyce's three volumes of Cathedral Music by the Ven. Archdeacon W. H. Hale, one of the Residentiaries of S. Paul's Cathedral, London, in the name of the very reverend the Dean and Chapter.

"This is the first and only cathedral music library in Europe, begun, as above, at the Metropolitan Church, 1845."

[The above is, I think, in the handwriting of R. Clark. I decline all responsibility for the blunder involved in this use of the word *Metropolitan*.]

Easter Day, in a Cathedral, Wesley had only at his command the Choir Boys and *One Bass Voice, one adult singer*. Most men would have broken down : would have thought it enough to declaim against the evil days. He put forth his strength and wrote the Anthem, *Blessed be the God and Father*. Good came out of evil. The literature of the Church was enriched by a noble addition to its stores.

Dr. Alcock was a man of a very different type. He was once a Chorister in S. Paul's. Amongst other peculiarities he seems to have been singularly unfortunate in selecting subjects which had been used by other musicians. He apologises for the resemblance borne by two of his Anthems to compositions by Greene and Croft, though he says that both his works were written before he had heard theirs. Curiously enough, when he published his *Morning and Evening Service* in 1753, he states that he had altered a passage which resembled something in Handel's *Jubilate*, which he did not see till ten years after his own work was finished.

"The Seventh Anthem," he says, "has no other merit than its shortness, and may serve in a cold frosty morning, by way of variety, instead of, *O praise the Lord, all ye heathen*, or, *Deliver us, O Lord our God* (Mr. Batten) ; *O Lord, grant the King a long Life*, and, *Praise the Lord, O my soul* (Dr. Child) ; *Call to Remembrance*, or, *Hide not thou thy Face* (Mr. Farrant) ; *Lord, Thou art become gracious ; I will arise* (Dr. Creighton) ; and such like Anthems, about a

Minute and Half long, which are much used at some Cathedrals, even in summer."

He was obliged, he tells us,

"to play a voluntary after morning and evening prayers, even in the severest cold weather, when, very often, there was only one vicar who read the service, and an old woman at church, besides the choristers; which not only brought but fixed the rheumatism so strongly upon me, that I am seldom free from pain, and sometimes confined to my bed for eight or ten days together, though I never had the least complaint of that kind till then, and nobody can live more regular than I have always done, as every one of my acquaintance can testify. I likewise play'd the organ all Passion Week (except Good Friday), both which customs have ever since been discontinued."

His salary, poor man! was only £4 a year, besides the Vicar's place.

To the Twentieth Anthem he has subjoined an Organ part, because he has

"lately heard a new method of playing Cathedral Duty, which is, when the Bass rests and only the Treble and Contra Tenor are going on, or perhaps the Tenor part is singing with them, of keeping a continual roaring upon the Full Organ by striking chords or at least Octaves with the left hand to every note. My opinion is that this practice does not only puzzle those persons who sing the Bass, but where Points are frequently introduced, as it often happens in this sort of music, nothing can be more absurd."

He is obliging enough to add further details about himself; in fact, he seems to have had a very good opinion of Dr. Alcock:

"The 26th Anthem* I actually compos'd, as it now is, in less than two Days. I don't mention this out of vanity, but only because there are three or four young musicians (who pretend no one understands music so well as themselves) which take an uncommon Deal of Pains to perswade People, that I have not the least merit in my Profession, though I much question whether either of those wonderful Geniuses, can make a better Anthem than that in as little Time."

He died at Lichfield in March, 1806, aged 91.

* An eight-voice anthem of ten pages.

Very quaint and odd is a notice of a contemporary of Dr. Alcock—James Kent, “late Organist of the Cathedral and College at Winchester,” who died May 6, 1776 :

“His manner of playing was neither indecorously rapid, nor heavily slow ; but whilst by equally avoiding either extreme, it preserved Instrumental and Vocal expression, it was such as became the Sanctity of the Church, and the Solemnity of the Service. He was reputed by some competent judges to be one of the best players of Dr. Croft’s music in the Kingdom.”*

If music had fallen so low at Lichfield and elsewhere, whose fault was it ?

Ah ! we will not speak of Cathedral abuses—the pluralities ; the non-residence ; the wealth squandered on those who did not do the work ; the poverty of the actual doers of the work ; the purple and fine linen of the richer clergy, whose faces were scarcely known in the Cathedral ; the meanness of the accessories of Divine Service.

See what was the result of this condition of affairs so late as the year 1829 in Wales. Here is a graphic illustration :

“The churches were many of them in ruins. In one, the rain came through the roof just over the pulpit, and the parson preached under an umbrella held over his head by the clerk. In another, a goose was sitting in the pulpit, so the minister preached from the reading-desk. At S. Florence, the cocks and hens roosted in the church, and a horse was kept in the porch for want of a stable ; in the midst of the village was a cockpit. . . . In another parish there was no service for three

* *Some Account of Mr. James Kent*, etc., prefixed to the Second Volume of his *Anthems*.

weeks: when the parson did appear a young couple presented themselves to be married—they had put in the banns, but they had never been published. The parson, however, was up to the occasion, so he called the names over three times that morning, and married them straight away. No inquiry was ever made or fault found.

"But what could you expect? Bishop Copleston lived at his deanery at S. Paul's—Bishop Watson never set foot in his diocese. Neither of these prelates knew a word of Welsh."*

Is it wonderful that many of the parishioners became alienated from the Church which cared so little for its own sanctuaries?

Not only had some musicians grown so careless and perfunctory as this, but some, possibly with good intention, had accomplished marvellous acts of vandalism. Let one suffice. Much as *we* love Handel, there have been those who, with an evident intention to popularize his music, have certainly adopted the strangest methods to that end. Here is a piece of the preface with which one Thomas Pitt introduces to his readers a collection of sacred music which he had made bold to edit:

"The high estimation, in which the sacred music of Mr. Handel hath ever been held, made me frequently lament, that the opportunities of hearing it at places remote from the Metropolis were in general so few. . . . I reasonably concluded that Sound and Sense thus happily combined, would be productive of the most sublime ideas; and consequently tend to excite true devotion, if they were introduced into places of divine worship.

"Great care hath been taken in the selection of the Words; and, where the beauties of the Music would allow, I have endeavoured to obviate any objection which might arise from prolixity.

"In this volume there are fifteen hundred and forty-two bars short of the original; and most of the *Airs* in the *Treble-cliff* may be sung with good effect by a *Tenor*, where *Treble* voices are wanting."†

* The Rev. Geo. Huntington in the *Monthly Packet* for June, 1887.

† *Church Music . . . Selected and Adapted for the use of Choirs* by Thomas Pitt, Worcester. 1789. Preface to vol. I.

The shameless creature boasts of his sacrilegious deeds with the calmest self-satisfaction.

It is worth while, though it demands no little patience, to follow Pitt in his operations upon Handel. Handel gave us about 126 bars in the Chorus, *And the glory of the Lord*; Pitt reduces it to 96, leaving out the 10 bars of symphony, and the equivalent of one whole page in Novello's octavo edition. Handel wrote *Rejoice greatly* with 108 bars; Pitt reduces it to 52, cutting down the eight bars of symphony to two.

For unto us, as it left its author's hand, had 99 bars; Pitt reduces it to 70, omitting the 6 bars of symphony altogether. In many a Cathedral music bill, within living memory, Anthems marked as *by Pitt from Handel* might have been found.

In 1664 it is on record that one John Hill at Westminster Abbey was retained to play the treble parts upon the cornet, in consequence of the great difficulty of obtaining efficient boys. A document, still preserved in the British Museum, contains the following entry :*

“To John Hill for playing on the cornett in the Church this year,
£4.” 1664.

The cornet here indicated is the obsolete reed wind instrument of that name—“not unlike a haut-boy, but larger and of a coarser quality of tone. They were often made of wood, neatly covered with dark leather. In Germany, as in England, they

* Cummings, *Purcell*, 11.

were once in common use for sacred and secular purposes.”*

The dearth of singing boys was general throughout the kingdom—an examination of the old manuscript copies of anthems, composed by the organists and singing men of the various Cathedrals in the reign of Charles II., will show that the composers were constrained to write mainly for men's voices.

Many persons will remember the scanty numbers with which the Holy Service was celebrated even in S. Paul's some five-and-twenty years ago. A little body of six singing men, some of whom were most irregular in their attendance, was deemed a sufficient staff for the Cathedral of the greatest city of the world. Not till our own day had even S. Paul's Cathedral recovered the almost deadly blows struck at the musical service in the days of the great Rebellion.

Nor was this all. The Court of Charles II. had brought with it from abroad foreign tastes and foreign habits. It became the fashion to decry native talent, and to praise exclusively the genius of the foreigner. Some say that the habit is not yet extinct.

In the days of the Restoration there grew up a fashion for French music. “By the direction, and at the charge of Charles II., Pelham Humphrey† was sent to Paris to study under Lully,” an Italian,

* Stainer and Barrett, *Dictionary*, art. “Cornet.”

† He wrote his name himself as Humfrey: “although it is usually found as Humphry, or Humphrys, with every possible variety of spelling.”—Grove, *Dictionary*.

indeed, by birth, but a Frenchman by residence and by association. He was a man of great ability and resource, though, alas, it must be added, a man of infamous and discreditable life.

It is of Lully that a sufficiently grim story is told. You will find it in Hullah.

"Once, during a fit of illness, he sent for a Confessor, who, as a condition to granting him absolution, insisted on his destroying the score of his last opera which he had composed—*Armide*—then in rehearsal. The Prince of Conti called to see him the same day, and hearing what had been done, said to him: 'Why, Baptiste, how could you be so foolish as to throw such a work as that into the fire?' 'Hush, hush, monseigneur,' said Lully, 'I knew what I was about. I've another copy.'"^{*}

To this professor of the art Pelham Humphrey was sent. He proved an apt pupil, and returned, bringing with him new methods of composition; and, like many another traveller, new airs and graces.

Our old gossip Pepys has something to say about the young musician, as, indeed, he has something to say about most of the fashionable subjects of the day. He was, like some moderns, very eager to go to church when there was some preacher of eminence, or some music specially worth listening to; and he records certain visits to the Royal Chapel, and mentions that he had heard an Anthem by the new composer. On Nov. 15, 1667, he has a still more interesting entry in his diary:

"Home, and there find, as I expected, Mr. Cæsar and little Pelham Humphreys, lately returned from France, and is an absolute *Monsieur*, as full of form and confidence and vanity, and disparages everything, and every body's skill but his own. But to hear how he laughs at all the King's musick here, as Blagrove and others, that they cannot keep time nor tune, nor understand anything; and the Grebus,† the King's

^{*} Hullah, *Transition*, 201, 90, 92.

† Louis Grabu.

Master of the Music, how he understands nothing, nor can play on any instrument, and so cannot compose ; and that he will give him a lift out of his place ; and that he and the King are mighty great."

That last touch, "he and the King"*—himself first, and the King second—is highly characteristic. He was only about twenty at this time, so a little vanity may perhaps be pardoned. It was by no means the golden age of English music—Child, Rogers, and a few more musicians were, indeed, still living—but we look in vain for any great names upon the roll. It was well that new life and new vigour should be infused into our music, even though the impulse should come to us from abroad. Faults there were, no doubt, but the new beauties of the style compensates for these. The music and the words are in distinct relation ; the tedious repetitions of the older masters disappear ; the melody, the harmony, the general outline and plan of the anthem differs widely from anything which had preceded it. A decided step is taken in the onward march of the grand art.

But to return to S. Paul's Cathedral.

Adrian BATTEN was educated in the Cathedral School at Winchester. In 1614 he was appointed Vicar-Choral of Westminster Abbey, and in 1624 he became Organist and Vicar-Choral of S. Paul's. He died about 1640. Burney says "He was a good harmonist of the old school, without adding anything to the common stock of ideas in melody or modulation with which the art was furnished long

* The *Ego et Rex Meus* of a much greater person.

before he was born. Nor did he correct any of the errors in accent with which former times abounded." Dr. Rimbault* considers that this criticism is hardly just; and there can be no doubt that he is correct in saying that Batten's Anthem, *Hear my prayer*, "is, in point of construction and effect, equal to any composition of his time." He was a copious writer; the words of thirty-four of his Anthems are found in Clifford, and others are contained in Barnard's MS. Collection.

John TOMKINS, appointed Organist of S. Paul's Cathedral in 1622, and afterwards Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, claims but a brief notice. His Father was the Rev. Thomas Tomkins, "chanter of the choir" at Gloucester. He came of a musical family. His brother Thomas was Organist at Worcester, pupil of Bird, and Organist of the Chapel Royal; Giles, a most excellent Organist of the Cathedral at Salisbury, according to Anthony à Wood; Nicholas, one of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber of Charles I.; whilst Thomas contributed to the *Triumphs of Oriana*.†

His Epitaph in Old S. Paul's speaks of him as *Organista sui temporis celeberrimus: Ad cœlestem chorum migravit*, 27 Sept., 1638, aged 52. He is commemorated, under the name of *Thomalin*, in Phineas Fletcher's *Purple Island*.‡

He was succeeded by his pupil, Albertus BRYNE, who at the Restoration petitioned Charles II. to be

* *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, art. "Batten."

† Dr. Burney, *History of Music*, iii. 365. ‡ Hawkins, *History*, 507.

appointed organist at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall. He states that he became Organist of S. Paul's at the age of seventeen. He was born about the year 1621.* Hawkins says that he was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey, "but there is no inscription to be found there, to ascertain precisely the time of his death or the place of his interment."†

Space must be found for a short notice of Martin PIERSON, Bachelor in Music, and Master of the Choristers of S. Paul's, when John Tomkins was organist of that Cathedral. He published

"Mottects, or Grave Chamber Musique, containing Songs of five parts of severall sorts, some full, and some verse and chorus, but all fit for voyces and vials, with an Organ part; which for want of Organs may be performed on Virginals, bass-lute, bandora, or Irish harpe. Also a Mourning song of sixe parts for the death of the late Hon. Sir Fulke Grevil, Knight, composed according to the rules of art, by M. P., Bachelor of Musique, 1630."

This musician died about 1650, and bequeathed £100 to the poor of Marsh, in the Parish of Dunnington and Isle of Ely. His partiality for this village in the heart of the Fens, probably arose from its being the place of his birth.‡

Michael WISE, "a most sweet and elegant composer, born in Wiltshire, was one of the first set of children of the Royal Chapel after the restoration." He became Organist of Salisbury in 1668, Gentleman of the Chapel Royal January 6, 1675, and Almoner

* I am indebted for these particulars to the courtesy of Mr. W. Barclay Squire.

† Hawkins, *History*, 713, edit. 1875.

‡ Dr. Burney, *Hist. Music*, iii. 367.

and Master of the Choristers at S. Paul's January 27, 1686.*

Charles II. much admired his playing, and appointed him to attend the royal Progress, on which occasion Wise claimed, as Royal Organist *pro tempore*, to play the Organ at any Church which the King attended: at one church he presumed so far as to commence his voluntary before the preacher had finished his sermon.

In August, 1687, he was killed by a blow on the head with a bill, received in a quarrel with the watch at Salisbury. His melancholy end suggests the old proverb: "Nemo mortalium omnibus horis sapit"—no man is always WISE.

His Anthems, *Awake up, my glory, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, Awake, put on Thy strength*, still hold their places in popular esteem. But yet "many of the faults of composition of this period are, to modern ears, almost intolerable. In Wise's Anthem *Prepare ye the way of the Lord*, there are in the first movement, which consists of only fourteen bars, no less than six perfect cadences in the direct or uninverted form: the composition which consists in all of but 97 bars being actually broken up into no less than eight movements. In an Anthem by Jeremiah Clark, *Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem*, which is of about the same length as this of Wise, and which is divided into six movements, the time undergoes no less than five changes. As to the perfect cadences, they are introduced in every second bar."†

* Hawkins, 719. † Hullah, *Third or Transition Period*, 216, 217.

In other instances, the consecutive movements of an Anthem bear no relation to each other: they comprise only a few phrases, not growing out of one another, but patched together, often in a very inconsequent manner.

John BLOW, born at North Collingham, in Nottinghamshire, in 1648, was a pupil of Captain Cook, who had been brought up in the King's Chapel, but quitting it at the Rebellion, received a captain's commission in 1642. Some say that he also studied under John Hingeston, domestic organist to Oliver Cromwell; and under Dr. Christopher Gibbons, son of Orlando Gibbons. He succeeded Pelham Humphrey as master of the children of the Royal Chapel in 1674. In 1687 he became Almoner and master of the choristers in S. Paul's Cathedral, but he resigned this post in 1693 in favour of his pupil, Jeremiah Clark. He had the honour of being Purcell's second master. In 1699 he became composer to the Chapel Royal; a second composer, John Weldon, was appointed in 1715; and it was required of each that he should produce a new anthem on the first Sunday of his month of waiting.*

By the time that he was twelve years old, he had already composed anthems which were in use in the Chapel Royal; the words of some of these are found in Clifford's Collection.

He died in 1708, and was honourably buried in Westminster Abbey, where he had been made

* Dr. Burney, *Hist. Music*, iii. 445-453, 434.

Organist at the early age of twenty-one. "On his tomb," says Dr. Burney, perpetrating a very mild pun, "is preserved a Canon of a more pacific and harmless kind than any of those that adorn the monuments of neighbouring heroes."

As to his merits critics differ widely. Dr. Boyce speaks of "his success in cultivating an uncommon talent for modulation." Dr. Burney criticises him very sharply, and sets himself the ungrateful task of printing a plate of three pages "full of his deformities." Certainly they are not elegant extracts.

His degree of Doctor of Music was conferred upon him by Archbishop Sancroft; he was not a graduate of either university.*

To the *Amphion Anglicus* are prefixed some commendatory verses, amongst which is an Ode addressed to the author by Mr. Herbert,† in a note on which it is said that an Anthem by Bird in golden notes is preserved in the Vatican Library: and in the second stanza are the following lines respecting Blow:

"His Gloria Patri long ago reach'd Rome,
Sung and rever'd too in S. Peter's Dome,
A Canon will outlive her jubilees to come."

The Canon is that to which the *Gloria Patri* in Dr. Blow's Gamut service, in the first volume of Boyce's Cathedral Music, is set. It is supposed to have been sent to Cardinal Howard by Dr. Ralph Battell, subdean of the Royal Chapel in the time of James II.

* Hawkins, *History*, 740.

† See *supra*, 200.

His Epitaph says: "His own musical compositions, especially his church musick, are a far nobler monument to his memory than any other can be raised for him."*

A characteristic story is related of him :†

"In the reign of King James II. an anthem of some Italian composer had been introduced into the Chapel, which the King liking very much, asked Blow if he could make one as good. Blow answered, he could, and engaged to do it by the next Sunday, when he produced the Anthem, *I beheld, and lo a great multitude*. When the service was over the King sent Father Petre to acquaint Blow that he was much pleased with it. 'But,' added Petre, 'I myself think it too long.' 'That,' answered Blow, 'is the opinion of but one fool, and I heed it not.' The Jesuit was so nettled at this expression of contempt, that he meditated revenge, and wrought so with the King that Blow was put under a suspension, which however he was freed from by the Revolution, which took place very shortly after."

One of Blow's pupils, William TURNER, another of the second set of Chapel Children,

"was sworn in Gentleman of the Royal Chapel, 1669, as a counter tenor singer, his voice settling to that pitch; a circumstance which so seldom happens *naturally*, that if it be cultivated, the possessor is sure of employment: and, in consequence of its utility, soon after his reception into the Chapel Royal, he was appointed Vicar Choral in the Cathedral of S. Paul, and a lay vicar of the Collegiate Church of S. Peter, Westminster. In 1696, he was admitted to the degree of Doctor in Music at Cambridge. Dr. Turner arrived at the great age of 88, and dying in 1740, was buried in the Cloister of Westminster Abbey in the same grave with his wife; who, being nearly the same age, died but four days before him, after living together with great harmony of disposition, and felicity, near seventy years."‡

A contemporary of the men just mentioned, and pupil of the Captain Henry Cook under whom Blow had studied, was that illustrious musician, Henry Purcell. Would that his name could be added to the roll of the Cathedral Worthies! He

* Hawkins, *History*, 742.

† *Ibid.*, 743.

‡ Dr. Burney, *Hist. Music*, iii. 459, 460.

finds mention here because of the great influence of his genius. Born in 1658, in the year of Cromwell's death, and dying at the early age of thirty-eight, it was his privilege, in the words of his enthusiastic admirer,* "to raise the musical fame of England to a height it had never before attained, and by his beautiful creations to make for himself a name of undying fame."

It seems not unlikely that Purcell wrote at about the age of eleven the *Music to Macbeth*, which is commonly ascribed to Matthew Locke. A copy of the score in Purcell's youthful hand exists in Mr. W. H. Cummings' remarkable musical library.

Certainly Purcell's Anthems display a marvellous originality, and there are those who worship with indiscriminating fidelity at his shrine. It would be difficult, however, altogether to defend such an Anthem as *They that go down to the sea in ships*. It was written by special command of Charles II. to commemorate his Majesty's narrow escape from wreck when sailing in his yacht off the North Foreland. John Gostling, a Minor Canon of Canterbury, famous for the remarkable character of his Bass voice, was of the royal party, and to exhibit his very deep notes, Purcell takes the Bass solo down to double D.

It was of Gostling that Charles II. used to say, "You may talk as much as you please of your nightingales, but I have a gosling who excels them all." At another time he presented Gostling with a

* Mr. W. H. Cummings, *Purcell, a Biography*, 20.

silver egg full of guineas, saying that "He had heard that eggs were good for the voice."*

However anxious Purcell may have been to display his friend's voice, it is to be feared that the means employed will hardly stand the test of refined criticism. Dr. Hullah says, with great justice, that there is not "any true analogy between going down to the sea and going down the scale; between being carried up to heaven by the force of the winds, and being carried up to the top of one's voice by any influence whatever. Nor is there any obvious resemblance between the fearful chasms of a rolling sea—the *deep* as it is finely called in Scripture—and a very exceptional and often ludicrous note at the bottom of a bass voice."†

Moreover, modern hearers weary a little of the fragmentary character of some of Purcell's work,‡ and of the many new subjects dismissed, almost as soon as they have been stated; excellent themes, many of them, and showing much wealth of resource, and great command of melody, but which are often undeveloped possibilities rather than actual possessions. He attains, certainly, a high place—and, if the period of transition in which he lived be taken into account, as it certainly ought to be, a very high place—but it is not wise to fall down and worship every production of his pen as if it were necessarily a work of most consummate genius, simply because it bears the honoured name of Henry Purcell.

* Cummings, *Purcell*, 31.

† Hullah, *Transition*, 218.

‡ It must be remembered that many of his Anthems are productions of a very youthful hand—whilst he was still a pupil under Captain Cook.

In estimating the orchestral knowledge of the English musicians of Purcell's time, it must be remembered that, in all probability, the greater number had never heard a good violinist. Corelli's music was not introduced into England, and would have been considered by our native performers too difficult to be executed. "There were no flutes, clarionets, horns, or trombones." The flute of Purcell's day was blown at the extreme end like a flageolet; the modern *flauto traverso* was unknown. The trumpet, the hautboy, and the bassoon, were the chief wind instruments at his command. No one must expect in Purcell's music the grand orchestral effects of to-day; but true pleasure is to be found in his beautiful harmonies, many of them probably quite new, and created by himself; in his "refined melody, true rhythm, and just accent;" and in his adaptation of the music to the sentiment of the words.*

Jeremiah CLARK, in 1695, became Organist and Vicar-Choral of S. Paul's. He wrote a good deal of secular music, most of which is now forgotten, together with a setting of Dryden's *Alexander's Feast*, performed at Stationer's Hall on S. Cecilia's Day, 1697, the music of which is lost. He is perhaps best known by his Anthems, *I will love Thee, O Lord*, and *Praise the Lord*. He died in 1707, at the early age of thirty-eight, by his own hand.

He is the subject of a strange, fantastic story.

* Mr. W. H. Cummings, *Henry Purcell*.

He had fallen in love with a lady of rank far superior to his own, and had been rejected. The rejection preyed upon his mind, and he resolved to destroy himself.

"Being at the house of a friend in the country, he took an abrupt resolution to return to London: his friend, having observed in his behaviour marks of great dejection, furnished him with a horse and a servant. Riding along the road, a fit of melancholy seized him, upon which he alighted, and giving the servant his horse to hold, went into a field, in a corner whereof was a pond and also trees, and began a debate with himself whether he should then end his days by hanging or drowning. Not being able to resolve on either, he thought of making what he looked upon as chance the umpire, and drew out of his pocket a piece of money, and tossing it into the air, it came down on its edge and stuck in the clay. Though the determination answered not his wish, it was far from ambiguous, as it seemed to forbid both methods of destruction: and would have given unspeakable comfort to a mind less disordered than his was. Being thus interrupted in his purpose, he returned, and mounting his horse, rode on to London, and in a short time after shot himself.

"He dwelt in a house in S. Paul's Churchyard, situate on the place where the Chapter House now stands. Old Mr. Reading was passing by at the instant the pistol went off, and entering the house found his friend in the agonies of death."*

The version given above is Hawkins'. Burney relates the same incident in somewhat different words.

There is a curious discrepancy as to the exact date of the tragical event. All agree as to the year 1707; but Burney states that "his tragic end happened in July," Hawkins gives December 1, and Dr. Barrett November 1; whilst Mr. Husk observes† that "the precise date of his death has not been ascertained; but it was, doubtless, shortly before

* See Hawkins, *History*, 784; Burney, *History*, iii. 596, 597; Grove, *Dictionary*; and Barrett, *Church Composers*, 105.

† *Dictionary of Music*, art. "Clark."

November 5, 1707, when Croft was sworn into the full place of Organist of the Chapel Royal."

If, as has been said, the *perfect cadence* took long to win its way to public favour, Clark fully avenges the neglect of past ages; for he introduces it with wearisome iteration. In his Anthem, *Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem!*—a composition of about a hundred bars—as has been already pointed out* the time undergoes no less than 5 changes, and the work is cut up into 6 movements. Scrappy and fragmentary work indeed! The incessant coming to an end, and re-commencing, would tire out the most patient hearer.

The immediate successor of Clark was Richard BRIND, who had been educated in S. Paul's Choir, and who became Organist in 1707, holding the appointment until his death in 1718. He shines only by reflected light; for the fact that "he composed two *Thanksgiving Anthems*," which have long since passed into the region of oblivion, will scarcely add much to his reputation. His pupil, Dr. Greene, far eclipsed him; and but for the association of his name with that of Handel, he might have been altogether forgotten.

"Handel was very fond of S. Paul's organ, built by Father Smith, which was then almost a new instrument. Brind was then the organist, and no very celebrated performer. The tone of the instrument delighted Handel, and a little intreaty was at any time sufficient to prevail upon him to touch it; but after he had ascended the organ loft, it was with reluctance that he left it—and he has been known after evening service, to play to an audience as great as ever filled the Choir. After his per-

* See *supra*, 223.

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formance was over, it was his practice to adjourn with the principal persons of the choir to the Queen's Arms Tavern, in S. Paul's Churchyard, where was a great room with a harpsichord in it : and oftentimes an evening was there spent in music and musical conversation."*

* Hawkins, *History*, 767, 859.



MUSIC IN S. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

MUSICIANS :
CHARLES KING TO THE PRESENT TIME.



CHAPTER XII.

MUSIC IN S. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL. MUSICIANS :
CHARLES KING TO THE PRESENT TIME.

CHARLES KING, born at Bury S. Edmund's in 1687, was admitted a Chorister of S. Paul's in his seventh year, shortly before the resignation of Dr. Blow. On the death of Jeremiah Clark, whose sister he had married, he became Almoner and Master of the Boys, and was sworn in as Vicar-Choral October 31, 1730.

Dr. Greene said of him that "he was a very serviceable man," alluding to the *Services* which he composed, which were so easy and so short that they soon attained a sort of popularity; for, as Hawkins expresses it, "his compositions are uniformly restrained within the bounds of mediocrity: they are well known, as being frequently performed, yet no one cares to censure or commend them, and they leave the mind just as they found it." Nor is the reason of this mediocrity difficult of discovery;

for he seems to have been an indolent and apathetic man, of some little genius, but averse from study. In his appearance and behaviour in Church, it is said that "he seemed to be as little affected by the Service as the Organ-blower."

He died March 17, 1748. He was buried in the Crypt of the Cathedral, where also, in March, 1797, was buried Philip Hayes.* Amongst his pupils was the well-known Dr. Boyce, the compiler of the three volumes of *Cathedral Music*, who, in 1755, became Conductor to the Festivals of the Sons of the Clergy held in S. Paul's.

Maurice GREENE was the third son of the Rev. Thomas Greene, D.D., Vicar of S. Olave Jewry with S. Martin's. He was born in 1695; admitted as a Chorister at S. Paul's, under Jeremiah Clark, in 1706, wearing his surplice for the first time when Queen Anne visited the Cathedral in that year, to return thanks for victories gained by her army, under the command of the Duke of Marlborough, in Brabant.†

He was apprenticed to Mr. Brind; and on his death, in 1718, Greene succeeded him as Organist—the Dean, Dr. Godolphin, conferring upon him "the place of Vicar-Choral in augmentation of his stipend as Organist. He was, therefore, the first Vicar-Choral who did not sing."‡

* *Dictionary of Music*; Hawkins, *History*, 798; Barrett, *Church Composers*, 127, 133.

† Dugdale, *S. Paul's*, June 27, 1706.

‡ Barrett, *English Church Composers*, 117, 118.

Of his unsuccessful endeavour to cultivate simultaneously the friendship of Handel, and of Handel's rival, Buononcini, it is not necessary to speak at any length. Handel is said to have accepted Greene's homage willingly enough until he discovered that the Cathedral Organist was also worshipping at the shrine of Buononcini. Then he would have nothing more to do with Greene; and even ordered himself to be denied to him whenever he should call. Hawkins accuses Greene of great duplicity, and adds that from this time Greene decried Handel's works as much as he had previously extolled them. One can only exclaim:

"Tantæne iræ in cœlestibus animis."

Certainly the musical world must have been losers by the quarrel; for whilst the friendship lasted, Handel frequently played upon the Cathedral Organ, to the delight of all hearers.

Greene was himself a skilful Organ-player. He is said to have been the first who played what are called Cornet Voluntaries—"flourishing with a solo-stop on the right hand, accompanied with soft foundation-stops on the left hand, and not always with a substratum of pedal passages."

On the death of Dr. Croft in 1727, Greene was appointed Organist and Composer to the Chapel Royal; and in 1730 the University of Cambridge gave him his doctor's degree, and conferred upon him the dignity of Professor of Music—his degree exercise was a setting of Pope's *Ode on S. Cecilia's Day*.

In 1743 he published his *Forty Select Anthems*, the work on which his reputation is chiefly based. Rich in melody, they place him in the fore-front of the ecclesiastical composers of the day.*

There had long been some uncertainty as to the exact date of his burial; but Dr. Forbes, the late Rector of S. Olave Jewry, enabled the present writer to set that question at rest by an extract from the burial-register of the parish, which proves that he was buried in the vault of S. Olave, December 10, 1755, aged 60. On the removal of the Church of S. Olave, under the provisions of the Act for the *Union of Benefices*, the remains of Dr. Greene were translated to S. Paul's Cathedral, where, on May 18, 1888, they were reverently laid beside those of Dr. Boyce,† his pupil and literary executor. "There was a memorable gathering of musical celebrities on that day in the Crypt of the Cathedral. All the present holders of the offices and appointments which were held by Dr. Greene were assembled together—Dr. Martin, as Organist of S. Paul's; Mr. C. S. Jekyll, as Organist of the Chapel Royal; Mr. W. G. Cusins, as 'Master of the King's Band of Musick'; and Mr. W. H. Cummings, as representing the Royal Society of Musicians, of which Dr. Greene was a founder;"‡

* Hawkins, *History*, 800, 879, 884; Burney, *History*, iii. 614; Barrett, *Church Composers*, 121.

† Whose grave is in the Crypt of St. Paul's, at the eastern end, a little to the north of the grave of Dean Milman.

‡ *The Musical Times*, June 1, 1888.

together with a goodly assemblage of Clergy and musicians. In the afternoon service had been sung the famous Anthem, *God is our Hope and Strength*; and at the grave a very interesting address was delivered by Dr. W. A. Barrett.

John JONES was born about the year 1732, and became organist of the Middle Temple in 1749. On the death of Dr. Greene, in 1755, he became Organist and Vicar-Choral of S. Paul's.

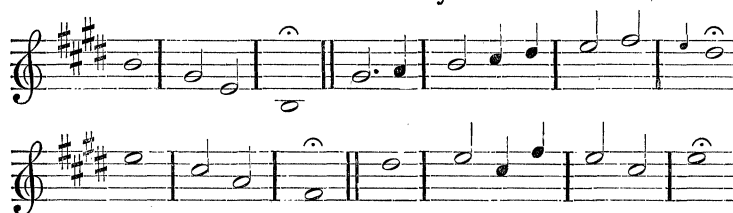
In 1785 he published *Sixty Chants, single and double*, in the "Vulgar, florid taste of that time." His musical reputation, however, rests on one of these. "It was sung at the state visit of George III. to S. Paul's, April 23, 1789, and at many of the Annual Meetings of the Charity Children. At that of 1791 Haydn heard it, and noted it in his diary, as follows, with a material improvement in the taste of the fourth line." Haydn admired it so greatly that he said, "No music has for a long time affected me so much as this innocent and reverential strain."* It can hardly be doubted, however, that the fresh voices of the children, and the touching scene, had more to do with Haydn's admiration than the chant itself. But the reader may form his own opinion upon the subject, for here is the chant printed exactly as it stands in the original edition:

* Grove, *Dict. of Music*. Jones was organist of the Middle Temple, Nov. 24, 1749; of the Charter House, following Dr. Pepusch, July 2, 1753; and organist of S. Paul's Dec. 25, 1755. He held all those preferments till the time of his death, Feb. 17, 1796.

No. XXIV., R.



And it is followed by Haydn's version of the same chant as he noted it in his diary :



It seems worth while to preserve the *Title* and the very formal *Introduction* to the Collection of Chants.

Title

Sixty Chants Single and Double composed by John Jones Organist of S^t Paul's Cathedral and by him Respectfully Inscribed to the Dean and Chapter. 1785. Price 5s. Printed for the Author by Longman & Broderip No. 26, Cheapside & 13, Haymarket.

Introduction

The Psalms of David being either Rejoycing Penitential, or Historical, Those Chants which best suit such sentiments are mark'd wth an R, P,

or H; but where the Psalms Change from Rejoycing to Penitential, in the same Morning or Evening Service Numbers XXX of both Single and Double Chants are particularly adapted.*

Jonathan BATTISHILL, son of a solicitor, and grandson of the Rector of Sheepwash, in Devonshire, was born in London in May, 1738. In 1747 he became a Chorister of S. Paul's, under William Savage, then Almoner of the Cathedral. On leaving S. Paul's, he officiated for Dr. Boyce at the Organ of the Chapel Royal. Soon afterwards he became attached to Covent Garden Theatre as harpsichord player, married an actress, and for some time devoted himself mainly to music for the stage. Later on, however, he abandoned the theatre, and devoted his attention to the composition of sacred music, from which may be selected for special commendation his beautiful Anthem, *Call to Remembrance*. After his wife's decease, in 1775, he seems to have written no music—it is said that he was unable to recover from the shock of her death—but he spent his time in his fine library, amongst his books, some six or seven thousand, chiefly classical works. He died on Dec. 10, 1801, at the age of 63, and was buried, pursuant to his dying wish, in S. Paul's Cathedral, near the grave of Dr. Boyce.†

It is said that "his memory was prodigious: he not only could play a piece which he had carefully read through once, but could at any time afterwards recall it with a slight effort of memory."‡

* From a copy in S. Paul's Library [12. D. 22]; size, oblong 4to., 7 inches long, 5½ high. The special adaptation of Chant No. XXX. consists in its being set in the major and in the minor.

† *Dictionary of Music*.

‡ Barrett, 142.

The brief biographical memoir of Thomas ATTWOOD, prefixed to the volume of his Cathedral Music, short as it is, supplies most of the materials for the present notice. He was born in the year 1767, and was admitted as a Chorister in the Chapel Royal, under Dr. Nares, at the age of nine. Here his musical ability attracted the notice of the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV. At the charge of his royal patron, he was sent to Italy, and studied for two years at Naples; thence he went to Vienna, where he became a pupil of Mozart. Mozart loved him as a brother, and said of him, "I have the sincerest affection for Attwood, and I feel much pleasure in telling you that he has imbibed more of my style than any scholar I ever had."

In 1796 he was elected Organist of S. Paul's, and in the same year succeeded Dr. Dupuis as Composer to the King. Thirty years afterwards, on the death of Mr. Stafford Smith, he received the appointment of Organist to the Chapel Royal. He was one of the founders of the Philharmonic Society.

Attwood died at Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, March 28, 1838, and was buried in the Cathedral, "nearly under the Organ at which he had so ably presided for more than forty years."

He wrote no less than seventeen Operas, but was not destined to achieve immortality in this department of his work.

He "was a man of sincere piety, and when engaged in the composition of music for the Church, always felt that he was employing the genius given

to him by God for the noblest purpose to which it could be devoted—His service: and his great aim and hope were, that he might be enabled to praise Him worthily." His music was evidently not considered quite *Ecclesiastical* enough when it was first published: for his biographer, in an appreciative, yet half-apologetic sentence, feels it needful to point out, that "the beautiful is for all time, though the forms through which it is manifested may be as diverse as the minds which produce them."

During Mendelssohn's first visit to England, in 1829, he was the guest of Attwood, at his house at Norwood, and in memory of his sojourn there, dedicated to his host *Three Preludes and Fugues*. In one of his compositions he introduces the tone of Attwood's gate-bell, which had often sounded the signal of separation for the friends.*

On the occasion of his second visit to England, in 1832, Mendelssohn gave an Organ performance at S. Paul's, displaying "quite as transcendent a talent for that branch of executive skill as he had done at the Philharmonic on the pianoforte. Whether in working up one of Bach's mighty pedal fugues, or in extempore display of his own, he equally delighted and astonished many of the most eminent professors and critics of the Metropolis."†

A favourite pupil, as has been already said, of Mozart, Attwood brought to the service of the English Church rich stores which he had gathered

* Barrett, *English Church Composers*, 154.

† Benedict, *Sketch of the Life and Works of Mendelssohn*, 20, 21.

from his teacher, and had amplified by his own bright genius. A sincerely religious man, he has breathed into many of his compositions a deeply devout spirit. What can there be more touching than his Hymn, *Come, Holy Ghost*, heard, as the writer heard it, at the Ordination of his own sons?

The scene, S. Paul's Cathedral. The white-robed candidates for Holy Orders kneeling in long extended lines; the Bishop kneeling before the Altar; the rare and precious December sun streaming in at a great southern window and lighting up the scene, and falling specially on the central figure of the kneeling Prelate: he has begged a brief interval for silent prayer. The silence is almost oppressive. At length it is broken, a sweet pure voice is heard floating away over the diapasons of the Organ—thus:

HYMN FOR WHITSUNTIDE.

COME, HOLY GHOST.

THOMAS ATTWOOD.
cres.

dol.

Come, Ho - ly Ghost, our souls in - spire, and light - en

dol.

Accomp. Largo ghetto.

Music in S. Paul's Cathedral. 245

dol.



with ce - les - - - tial fire; Thou the a - noint - ing

dol.



Spi - rit art, Who dost Thy sev - en-fold gifts im - part:

cres.



Thy blessed unc - tion from a - bove is com - fort,

The musical score is written for voice and piano. It consists of two systems. The first system has a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line begins with a forte (*f*) dynamic and contains the lyrics: "life, and fire of love; is com - fort, life, and". The piano accompaniment features chords and moving lines in both hands. The second system continues the vocal line with the lyrics "fire of love. *Sym.*". The piano accompaniment continues with similar textures. At the end of the piano part in the second system, there are two wavy lines labeled "8ve", indicating an octave shift.

Surely few strains can be so calm, so sweet, so exquisitely adapted to time and place.

Sir John Goss, Attwood's pupil, came of a musical family; his father being Organist at Fareham, and his uncle a lay-vicar at Westminster, and a deputy at S. Paul's and at the Chapel Royal. He became one of the boys of the Chapel Royal, under John Stafford Smith; on leaving the Choir he studied under Attwood, whom he succeeded as Organist of S. Paul's in 1838. He was still Organist in 1872,

when the Prince of Wales came to the Cathedral to return thanks for his recovery from dangerous sickness: on which occasion Goss composed the *Thanksgiving Anthem* and *Te Deum* which bear his name. Very shortly afterwards he received from his Sovereign the honour of Knighthood, and from the University of Cambridge the degree of Doctor of Music, *honoris causa*. All who know his works will agree that the honour was well earned.*

"His music is always melodious, and beautifully written for the voices, and is remarkable for a union of solidity and grace with a certain unaffected native charm which ought to ensure it a long life."† Thoughtful and devout, his compositions for the Church have found their way into every Cathedral, and into countless parish churches. Very sensitive and gentle in character, singularly amiable in manner and disposition, his mind is reflected in his writings, in which his earnestly religious spirit finds constant expression. So conscientious was he in his work that it is said that "he delayed the completion of his Anthem, *O Saviour of the World*, for some weeks, because he could not find the right chord to suit a certain passage in the words."‡ Short as that Anthem is, it attains an exceedingly high place in the music of the English Church. For sweetness

* Born December 27, 1800.

1838. Organist of S. Paul's. | 1872. Knighted.
1856. Composer to Chapel Royal. | 1876. Mus. Doc., Cambridge.
Died May 10, 1880. Buried at Kensal Green.

† W. H. Husk, in *Grove's Dictionary of Music*.

‡ Barrett, *Church Composers*, 177.

and pathos, and for the perfect adaptation of the music to the words, there are very few anthems which can compare with it. It will bear comparison with the exquisite pathos of Wesley's *And sorrow and sighing shall flee away*.* What higher praise can be given!

We have little sympathy with that school of music which seems disposed to repudiate melody as if a sweet air, or a graceful flowing strain, ought to be considered as a sign of weakness in the composer.

Certainly, if the greatest works of some of the greatest masters be examined, it will be found that they had formed a very different ideal. Read Bach's *Passion Music* according to S. Matthew, or Handel's *Messiah*, or Mendelssohn's *Hymn of Praise*, or Spohr's *Last Judgment*. They are full of the richest melody. Yet what sign of weakness is there in these master-pieces? "Where is the evidence of writing down to an ignorant public? The makers of these works possessed, one and all, that indispensable complement to the highest genius—never dissevered from it—good sense. And good sense taught them that to be heard, they must speak plainly; to be understood, they must speak clearly; and that even diamonds, uncut and unpolished, if thrown at people's heads, will not find that graceful acceptance which a little exercise of the lapidary's skill, and a more courteous delivery, would have insured them."†

"It is the air which is the charm of music," said

* Wesley, *The Wilderness*.

† Hullah, *Transition*, 158.

Haydn to Michael Kelly; "and it is that which it is most difficult to produce. The invention of a fine melody is a work of genius."

Well said, Father Haydn.

What would he have thought of the interminable weary stretches of recitative with which some modern writers have favoured the long suffering world; grimly monotonous, whilst the ear longs for some refreshing melody. Howling wildernesses of arid sand have to be traversed, and when at length the traveller reaches some bright green spot with cool waters and with pleasant verdure, it is only to find that his insistent guide will compel him at once to gird up his loins and resume his pilgrimage, for there he may not rest. Alas! for the tired and foot-sore pilgrim.

"In the classic land of modern music—Germany—a school of poets and prophets has sprung up which has undertaken to tell us what the music of the future is to be. Not only so. This school is so impatient for the realization of its own prognostications that it has actually brought a good deal of this music into the world, as it might seem, considerably before its time. Some of it, too, is already, and a good deal of it seems likely soon to be, forgotten. So that it would seem to combine the somewhat impossible conditions of being past and present, as well as future."*

To interest any but professed musicians, music must not be dull, nor ugly, nor formless.

* Hullah, *Modern Music*, 204.

It will be an evil day for the Divine Art when its professors regard sweet melody as an offence against scholarship, and a tuneful air as a concession to vulgar prejudice.

Let those who prefer them feast upon the dry morsels of the sixteenth century; let those who like the words to be chopped up into small fragments, and sung to a grammatical exercise, partake of the copious meal which musical antiquaries have provided for them; let those who can find no pleasure, save in counterpoint and canon, take their fill (there is, at least, this great advantage in the music that they love—it is always new; for few persons can remember any piece of it for a week; and if the words be forgotten, any other set of words will do as well)—let them feast and be happy. But let us rejoice that men are living who can not only write the common-places of musical scholarship, but who are inspired with thoughts—grand, bold, original—such as will be found, for example, in many of Gounod's Anthems. How grand—how unequalled in its own department—is his setting of the *Seven Last Words*, usually sung at S. Paul's, without accompaniment, on the afternoon of Good Friday! How strong—how full of dramatic force—his *Here by Babylon's Wave!* How full of beauty and originality his *Jesu, our Lord!*

Here are exquisite melody, rich harmony; music grand, devotional, and yet scholarly.

And yet such music was not introduced at S. Paul's without plenty of criticism. Hearers who had

listened for years on Ascension Day to Gibbon's Anthem, *God is gone up with a merry noise*, or to Croft's setting of these words, were not a little scandalized when my predecessor,* the Rev. Fynes Webber, introduced Mr. Barnby's Anthem, *King all glorious*. Those *arpeggios*! and the free style of the whole composition! What next!

The congregation at S. Paul's was destined to suffer even greater shocks than this. I ventured, soon after my accession to office,† to introduce Hiller's superb Anthems, *All they that trust in Thee*, and a *Song of Victory*. This was a great trial to many lovers of the Old School. I was warned by several of the danger of the course which I was taking; urgent remonstrances were addressed to me; the honoured names of Purcell, Croft, and Greene, were hurled as missiles at me—harmless missiles, however, for I love Purcell, and Croft, and Greene, and give them, as I think, due praise; but I cannot forget that music is a living art. The composer's pen was not buried in the grave of any deceased musician, however eminent. Music lives, and will live. The present has, the future will have, a music of its own.

Hiller is now appreciated at S. Paul's. Several of those who warmly denounced him at a first hearing, now, with kindly generosity, as warmly applaud

* In the office of *Succentor*.

† I trust I may be forgiven for speaking *in propria persona* in the concluding sentences of this chapter. I have been attached to the Cathedral for more than a quarter of a century, and it has become a part of my life.

him. They have learnt to admire the exquisite beauty and grandeur of his work.

It is confessedly difficult to speak of contemporary genius. How much more difficult is it to speak of that genius when it is found in those who have been one's own colleagues, and with whom one is in daily association! The bare, simple truth may seem like exaggeration to those who are not intimately acquainted with the persons commended.

Of Sir John STAINER, the late Organist,* it is difficult for me to speak in adequate terms. Of his skill as an executant, it is not necessary to say much, as critics are agreed: whether he were playing a sweet melody of Mendelssohn, or a massive fugue by Bach, or the grand and impressive music of Spohr's *Last Judgment*, or an extempore voluntary during the administration of Holy Communion, calm, smooth, and thoroughly devotional, all have recognised Dr. Stainer's versatility and power. Genial, warm-hearted, and amiable in character, he gained and retained the affectionate regard of the Choir. As a composer, his Anthems, *I saw the Lord*, and *Lead, kindly Light*—his Cantatas, *The Daughter of Jairus*, *S. Mary Magdalene*, *The Crucifixion*—must live as long as sweet melody and pure harmony are appreciated.

No record, however slight and brief, of the musicians who have presided at the Cathedral Organ could omit to mention one, at least, of the

* Organist from 1872 to 1888.

Sub-Organists. Mr. George COOPER's masterly fugue-playing will be fresh in the recollection of many who, whether at S. Paul's, or at S. Sepulchre's, or at the Chapel Royal, have listened eagerly to his rendering of the great classical works of Handel and Bach in which his heart delighted.

Of the present Organist, Dr. George C. MARTIN, it will suffice to say that he is a worthy successor of the honoured men who have preceded him—of Attwood, of Goss, of Stainer. His executive skill, his musical compositions in their force and originality, speak his praise, and will secure for him an honourable place in the long roll of the Musicians of S. Paul's Cathedral. Such grand work as his Anthems, *Whoso dwelleth under the defence of the Most High*, *Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous*, and his Services, cannot but live.

Alas! how inadequate are these chapters! The subject demands not a score or two of pages, but a large volume. I have brought together just a few notes out of the inexhaustible treasury of the present and the past. I have opened the door of the Temple of Sacred Music just a few inches; you have had a glimpse—only a glimpse—of the exquisite beauties within. I have wished to show you the continuity of musical art. The spirit that burned in the breasts of Redford, and Farrant, and Gibbons, lives and burns as brightly to-day. The Lamp of the Music of the Sanctuary burns with a never-dying flame. It is kindled from the Altar of Heaven.

LIST OF ORGANISTS

AND OF

SOME OTHER MUSICIANS CONNECTED WITH
S. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

JOHN REDFORD, Organist, between 1530 and 1540.

JOHN SHEPHARD, Chorister, probably still living in 1570.

THOMAS TALLIS, in the Chapel Royal temp. Henry VIII.,
Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, died Nov. 23, 1585, master
of William Bird.

RICHARD FARRANT, died Nov. 30, 1580.

WILLIAM BIRD, Chorister, died July 4, 1623.

THOMAS MORLEY, Organist in 1591 ; died about 1604.

WILLIAM MUNDY, Vicar Choral, died about 1591.

ADRIAN BATTEN, Organist, 1624-1640.

JOHN TOMKINS, Organist, died Sept. 27, 1638.

ALBERTUS BRYNE, Organist, 1638.

MICHAEL WISE, Almoner, Jan. 27, 1686, died Aug. 24, 1687.

JOHN BLOW, Almoner, 1687, resigned 1693, died Oct. 1, 1708.

JEREMIAH CLARK, Organist, 1695, died about Nov. 5, 1707.

CHARLES KING, Almoner, 1707, died March 17, 1748.

RICHARD BRIND, Organist, 1707-1718.

MAURICE GREENE, Organist, 1718-1755.

JOHN JONES, Organist, 1755—Feb. 17, 1796.

JONATHAN BATTISHILL, Almoner, died Dec. 10, 1801.

THOMAS ATTWOOD, Organist, 1796—March 28, 1838.

SIR JOHN GOSS, Mus. Doc., Organist, 1838, resigned 1872, died
May 10, 1880.SIR JOHN STAINER, M.A., Mus. Doc., Organist, 1872, resigned
1888.

GEORGE C. MARTIN, Mus. Doc., Organist, 1888.



MISCELLANIES.

ARTICLES I.—X.



CHAPTER XIII.

MISCELLANIES : ARTICLES I.—X.

ARTICLE I.

1285-1670.—*The wall enclosing the Cathedral Precinct.*

IN the time of Edward I. serious inconveniences had resulted from the unprotected state of the Cathedral Precinct. "By the lurking of thieves and other lewd people, in the night time, within the precinct of this churchyard, divers robberies, homicides," and other acts of violence, "had been oft times committed therein. For the preventing, therefore, of the like in future," the King was graciously pleased to grant to the Dean and Canons* "licence to include the same Churchyard with a wall on every side, with fitting gates and posterns therein, to be opened every morning and closed at night." This was in 1285.

A little later, in 1315, a document preserved amongst the Cathedral Records incidentally shows how necessary such a protection was, for Sir Nicholas Housebonde, one of the Minor Canons, complains that his house at the north-east corner of Sarmou-

* 13 Edward I., 10 June. Dugdale, *S. Paul's*, 12.

neris Lane was at a dangerous distance from the Cathedral, and that he had already suffered from the attacks of robbers and other ill-disposed persons in traversing the space which lay between his house and the Church.

An abstract of the document* here follows :

“A house belonging to the Chapter at the north-east corner of Sarmouneris lane has been assigned to Sir Nicholas Housebonde, Minor Canon of S. Paul's for his residence : the said Nicholas has made complaint that it is inconvenient for the purpose, on account of the grievous perils which are to be feared by reason of its distance from the Cathedral Church, and the crossing of dangerous lanes by night, and the attacks of robbers and other ill disposed persons which he had already suffered, and also on account of the ruinous condition of the building, and the crowd of loose women who live around it. The Chapter therefore assigns him a piece of ground at the end of the schools on which to make a house and a viridarium, the said ground extending from the wall of S. Paul's to the wall on the south side of the churchyard bounding the garden of the Chapter.”

Sarmouneris Lane, or Sermoner's Lane, or Shere-monier's Lane (this is not the place to discuss the real meaning of the name), is now called Sermon Lane. From the north-east angle of Sermon Lane to the centre of the present Cathedral is about 132 yards on the Ordnance Map—a very short distance beyond Paul's Chain.† Yet even in that short distance such dangers had been incurred.

The following abstract of a second document, dry and uninteresting as it may at first sight appear, is really of importance as supplying particulars about the Cathedral wall from a very authentic source :

“Demise by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's to the Mayor, Commonalty and Citizens of London of ‘all that parte and soe much of the ground and soile of the foundacon of the old maine wall heretofore

* Mr. Maxwell Lyte, *Calendar of the Cathedral Records*, 26b.

† See *supra*, 82.

encompassing the Churchyard of the said Cathedral Church of St^t Paul, London, as is hereinafter menconed, viz., from the gateway or passage leading out of the said Churchyard into Cheapside, westward unto Cannon Alley between the severall grounds and tenements belonging to the Lord Bishop of London, and the said Deane and Chapter, and others fronting South upon the said Churchyard, and the ground and tenements of the said Mayor and Cominalty and Cittizens fronting North upon Paternoster Rowe two hundred and seaventy foote of assize, or thereabouts, in length, and in breadth (the thicknesse of the said wall in the foundacon being) fowre foote of assize or thereabouts, and from Cannon Alley westward to St^t Paul's Alley more one hundred and seaventy foote in length of the same breadth, the whole containing on that side one thousand seaven hundred and three score superficiall feete of assize be the same more or less. And also from the gateway or passage late called St^t Augustins Gate leading out of the said Churchyard into Watling Streete, Northward to the house in the Old Chaunge in the occupacon of John Cobb or of his assignes or under tenants, in length forty foote of assize and two foote broad, and from another house in the Old Chaunge, adjoining to Cobb's on the North side, and now in the occupacon of John Brattle, gentleman, or of his assignes or undertenants, Northward to the freehold of M^r. Myles Martyn heretofore called Jesus Steeple, betweene the ground and tenements belonging to the said Mayor Cominalty and Cittizens fronting East upon the Old Chaunge and the Schoole house and other tenements fronting West upon the said Churchyard in length one hundred fowrescore and two feete of assize and in breadth two feete, the whole containing on that side fowre hundred forty and fowre superficiall feete of assize, be the same more or less, which ground and soyle of the said wall hereby demised being in the whole two thousand two hundred and fowre foote of assize or thereabouts is intended for the enlargement or other accommodacon of the severall mesuages houses and tenements of the said Mayor Cominalty and Cittizens, in the Old Chaunge and in Paternoster Rowe aforesaid, which were burnt downe by the late dreadfull Fire in London. The demise is for forty years at a yearly rent of 14*l*. 4*s*. July 6, 1670."*

The next passage is curious in itself, and it supplies a late reference to S. Augustine's Gate :

"The Bath-Waters are Sold at Meare's Coffee-house, at St. Austine's Gate, the East End of St^t Paul's, against St^t Austin's Church. Note. They are brought fresh from the Bath Two or Three Days a Week."†

* Mr. Maxwell Lyte, *Calendar*, 58*b*.

† *Daily Courant*, June 21, 1709. *Notes and Queries*, Seventh Series, iii. 305.

ARTICLE II.

14 . . —*Indulgence preached at Paul's Cross : Fifteenth century.**

“The Rev. Edward Harston, Vicar of Sherborne, Dorset, communicated the following singular circumstance, relating, probably, to one of the great pestilences in England in the fifteenth century. During recent repairs of the Parsonage-house at Sherborne—a curious old structure of early Perpendicular date—there was found in the wall, concealed between two stones, a little slip of parchment, folded up, measuring $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches by about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The writing was much defaced, but by careful cleaning it has been thus deciphered :

“Be hyt knowen to alle crystyn men and wymmen, that oure holy fadir the Pope hath very knowlyche by revelacioun whate medicine is for the seknys that raynyth† nowe a monge the peple. Yn any wyse, when that ye hyryth of thus bull, furste sey in the worschup of God, of oure lady and seynte Martyne iij pater noster. iij. Ave, and a Crede : and the morow afir, mediatly hyre ye yowre masse of seynt Martyne, and the masse whyle sey ye the sawter of oure lady, and yeve one offrynge to seynte Martyne, whate that evyr ye wille, and promyse ye to faste onys a yere yn brede and watyr whiles that ye lyve, othir sum othir person for yow. And he that belevyth nott on this stondythe in the sentence of holy Church, for hit hath be prechyd at Pawles Crosse.”‡

There can be no doubt that this singular little scroll was one of certain notifications circulated through the country to allay popular apprehension, and offer, on the authority of some Papal Bull, a remedy for one of those deadly visitations by which

* This article is taken from the *Archæological Journal*, xiii. 185-187.

† So Fabyan speaks of the great pestilence of 1347-8 : “in England, and especially in London moost fervently raynynge.”

‡ Or “Powols.”

England was afflicted during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. From the writing and the language of the little document, it seems probable that it related to the great pestilence in the first year of Henry VII. (1485), which was regarded with great apprehension as a token of troublous times. Its ravages extended to every town and village, and from England it passed to Flanders and Germany.* We have sought in vain for any other allusion to the special veneration shown towards S. Martin in England, or the virtues attributed to his intercession on the occasion of any of the dreadful pestilences by which the country had been depopulated.† We read in ancient inventories of rings described as "Saint Martin's rings,"‡ which very possibly were worn with some notion of talismanic virtue, like the rings with *Ave Maria*, the names of the three kings of Cologne, and other inscriptions. Such rings appear to be described as "*annuli vertuosi*," the virtue consisting sometimes in the inscription which they bore, and sometimes in the stone or intaglio with which they were set. The rings of S. Martin§ may have been distributed or sold on his feast, as the rings of S. Hubert still are in Belgium in large numbers.

* Holinshed, ii. 763; Grafton, 858.

† There was a dreadful mortality in 2 Henry IV. Great pestilences also occurred 17 and 19 Edward IV., in 22 Henry VII., and 10 and 20 Henry VIII.

‡ Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, ii. 60; *Archæologia*, xviii. 5. They were probably sold or distributed on the Feast of S. Martin. See Nares, *Glossary* v. *Martlemas*.

§ Churches dedicated to him in London: S. Martin Outwich, S. Martin Orgars, S. Martin in the Vintry, S. Martin Pomeroy, S. Martin Ludgate, S. Martin in the Fields, and S. Martin le Grand.

The intercession of S. Martin, Bishop of Tours, had at all times been regarded as of singular efficacy against disease, and it is not surprising that it should have been brought forward as of especial virtue at a time when there must have existed the greatest apprehension and agitation of the public mind—in a time of fearful pestilence. In 1378, Boniface VIII. sought to allay this perilous apprehension by issuing a Bull of plenary indulgence to the sufferers by the deadly disease then prevalent; and although there is no trace of the Bull to which this little parchment alludes, as “prechyd” or proclaimed at Paul’s Cross, there was doubtless some special privilege declared in the following century by the authority of the Pope, of which no other record has hitherto been found.”

ARTICLE III.

1528.—*Abjuration of John Hig in S. Paul’s.*

The following condensed account is taken from the *Calendars of State Papers*.*

“John Higges, *alias* Noke, *alias* Johnson,” figures, as might be expected in Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments*.† Foxe says that he was proceeded against by Bishop Tunstall’s Vicar-General, and that amongst the charges against him were these :

“First : that he had affirmed, that it was as lawful for a temporal man to have two wives at once, as for a priest to have two benefices.

“Also, that he had in his custody a book of the four Evangelists in English and did often read therein.

“And, that he favoured the doctrines and opinions of Martin Luther, openly pronouncing that Luther had more learning in his little finger

* Henry VIII., vol. iv., part i., No. 4,038.

† Edit. 1856, iv. 178, 179.

than all the doctors in England in their whole bodies ; and that all the priests in the Church were blind, and had led the people the wrong way," etc., etc.

He further observes that "these and such like matters were those wherewith these poor and simple men and women were charged"; apparently not seeing that simple and unlearned folk were possibly not the best judges as to the amount of learning which Luther's little finger contained. Foxe, however, is totally unable to see more than one side of the question. The Roman Bishops are fiends in human shape, and all who opposed them are saints. He had two paints in his colour-box (gold and jet black), and he uses them with an unsparing hand.

John Hig seems to have escaped from the jaws of the lion with comparatively small bodily damage. He saved his life by abjuration. Not all who abjured were, in those cruel days, equally fortunate. Here follows

THE FORM OF ABJURATION.

"Abjuratio Joannis Hig. Alias Noke, alias Jonson. In the name of God, Amen. I, John Hig, otherwise called John Noke or John Jonson of the parish of Cheshunt, of the diocese and jurisdiction of London, before you M. Geffery Wharton, doctor of Law, and Vicar-generall to the Reverent father in God, John Cuthbert, Bishop of London, mine ordinary and diocesan and before this company and audience, openly confess and knowledge that I have erroneously and damnably said, affirmed, believed, and taught these damnable and erroneous opinions :

1. That all men, whether temporal or spiritual, might preach the Gospel.
2. That Martin Luther was more learned than all the Doctors in England.
3. That a man should pay nothing to the Church, except his four offering days.
4. That the Church is blind and teaches the people the wrong way.
5. That he had 'a boke of the Gospels in the Doche tonge' by which he expounded in alehouses to the people there the Sunday Gospels.
6. That he had in derision those that went on pilgrimages and called them fools.
7. That, when in parts beyond the sea he had preached against Purgatory, although he believed the same ;

and that prayers and Alms deeds were of no value when a man was dead. 8. That he had not done reverence at the elevation of the Host, but kept reading his Dutch book of the Gospels. All which he now utterly abjures and renounces desiring to suffer penance for the same and promising never to return to them.

Signed : "Per me, Joannem Hige, alyas Noke, alias Jonson. ✠
Sic subscripsit manu propria."

2. Injunctis dicti Johannis ;—being the Commissary's account of the appearance of the said John Hig, of his absolution, and the penance enjoined ;—so that on Palm Sunday he should head the procession to S. Paul's Cathedral, bare-headed, bare-legged, shoeless, and carrying a faggot on his left shoulder, that he should remain in the custody of the Apparitor until Good Friday (d. Parasceues) and should then stand at Paul's Cross bare-headed, with his faggot as before, all the time of the preaching of the sermon. That on Easter Sunday he should head the procession in the parish church of Cheshunt, bare-headed and with the faggot as before ; that he should hear Mass on bended knees, but not receive until Monday following. That for the rest of his life he should wear a silken faggot embroidered in his sleeve, except he have dispensation. That he shall never leave the diocese of London without presenting himself to his Ordinary, and informing him where he intends to go. Present : Robert Rydley and William Mydelton.

3. The dispensation of the silken faggot by the Vicar General on the representation of the same John Hig, that if he was compelled to wear it no one would employ him, and he would be compelled to beg.

4. His petition for forgiveness "Jesus Maria. The mercy of the Father, the meekness of the Son, the goodness of the Holy Ghost, be with us," &c. Honorable Master Doctor. I desire you to be good master to me, for I do knowledge myself to your mastership that I have offended in the Articles the which you laid upon me yesterday. . . .
"Billa confessionis Johannis Hig, scripta manu ejus propria in Turri Vocata Lollards Towre."

ARTICLE IV.

1562.—*The Hours of Divine Service.*

"If there may be communion between those that are not together in one place, then a priest, saying mass in our lady chapel in Paul's at six o'clock in the morning, doth communicate with him that doth the like in Jesus' church at nine of the clock the

next day" (1562).—Bp. Cooper, *An Answer in Defence of the Truth*, 119.

"All well-disposed people about Paul's cannot come to postles' mass at four or five of the clock in the morning, neither at high mass there. Shall all such in a term or parliament time, when great resort is, be denied that spiritual comfort?"—Harding, *Controversy with Jewel on Plurality of Masses*; Bp. Jewel, *Works*, ii. 630.

"He came on the Monday, at the hour of eight o'clock in the morning, to seek John bellringer, and could not find him, and tarried until the high mass of Poules was done."—Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, iv. 195; *Inquest on Richard Hun*.

ARTICLE V.

1570.—*Paul's Steeple*.

"Neither purpose ye, for all your bragging, any more to preach to your mass hunters, than ye intend with your bird-bolt to shoot down the weather-cock of Paul's Steeple."—Becon, *The Displaying of the Popish Mass*, iii. 257.

"Neyther though twise ij. Cranes make not iiij. wilde Gees, woulde I therefore that he shoulde beleue that twise two made not foure. Neither entend I to proue vnto you that Paules steple is the cause why Temmes is broke in about Erith, or yt Tenterden Steple is the cause of the decay of Sandwich haven as M. More iesteth" (1573). — *Works of*

Tyndall, Frith, and Barnes, 279 (Tyndall is the speaker).

"Then I did walk in hast to Pauls
The Steeple for to view,
Because I heard some people say
It should be builded new.
When I got up unto the top,
The city for to see,
It was so high, it made me cry,
Like a Great Boobee."

The Great Boobee, Ballad, temp. James I.

ARTICLE VI.

Booksellers round S. Paul's in 1582.

Everyone knows that Paternoster Row has long been, as it still is, the very heart and centre of the book trade. In 1582 that honour must be ceded to the Churchyard.

In the seventh announcement to his *Transcript* of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, that indefatigable worker, Professor Edward Arber, gives the following list of the booksellers in and around S. Paul's Churchyard in 1582:

LONDON.

STREET DIRECTORY.

PAUL'S CHURCHYARD.

Stalls at the doors of the Church.

<i>Bible</i> , near the Great		<i>Black Boy</i> , near the	
North Door . . .	Cadman	Little North Door .	Kirkham

Houses round the Churchyard.

<i>Angel</i>	Perin	<i>Brazen Serpent</i> . . .	?
<i>Bible</i>	Jennings	<i>Crane</i>	Smith
<i>Bishop's Head</i> . .	Ponsonby	<i>George</i>	Stirrup
<i>Black Bear</i> . . .	Woodcock	<i>Green Dragon</i> . . .	Coldock
Over against the <i>Blaz-</i>		<i>Gun</i>	White
<i>ing Star</i>	Carr	<i>Hedgehog</i>	Seaton

<i>Helmet</i> . . .	Chard	<i>Sun</i> . . .	KITSON
<i>Holy Ghost</i> . . .	Cawood	<i>Swan</i> . . .	Dewes
<i>King's Arms</i> . . .	Norton	<i>Tiger's Head</i> . . .	Cooke
<i>[Holy] Lamb</i> . . .	VEALE	<i>White Greyhound</i>	Harrison, sen.
<i>Mermaid</i> . . .	Ling	[?] . . .	Bishop
<i>Parrot</i> . . .	MAUNSELL	[?] . . .	KINGSTON
<i>Red Dragon</i> . . .	Aggas	[?] . . .	Walley
At S. Augustine's Gate	Butter	[?] . . .	Watkins

NORTH OF PAUL'S CHURCHYARD.

<i>Paternoster Row.</i>		<i>Newgate Market.</i>	
Next the <i>Castle</i> . . .	Gosson	Within the New Rents	Purfoot
<i>Golden Anchor</i> . . .	Harrison, jun.		
<i>Star</i> . . .	Denham	<i>Holborn.</i>	
<i>Talbot</i> . . .	Man	<i>Rose and Crown</i> . . .	Jones
<i>Tiger's Head</i> . . .	Barker	Over against S. Sepulchre's	
		Church . . .	Purfoot
<i>Alders Gate.</i>		<i>Talbot</i> . . .	Ward
Over the Gate . . .	Day		

WEST OF PAUL'S CHURCHYARD.

<i>Creed Lane.</i>		<i>[Prince's Arms], near S.</i>	
<i>Golden Tun</i> . . .	Singleton	Dunstan's Church . . .	Marsh
<i>The Black Friars.</i>		<i>S. John the Evangelist,</i>	
[?] . . .	Vautrollier	beneath the Conduit.	Jackson
<i>Fleet Street.</i>		A little above the Con-	
<i>[Black] Elephant, a little</i>		duit . . .	Newbery
above the Conduit . . .	Cocken		
<i>Falcon</i> . . .	Middleton	<i>Temple Bar.</i>	
<i>George, near S. Dun-</i>		Over Temple Bar itself	Howe
<i>stan's Church</i> . . .	?		
<i>Hand and Star, between</i>		<i>The Strand.</i>	
the two Temple Gates	Tottel	Near unto Somerset	
		House . . .	Waldegrave

SOUTH OF PAUL'S CHURCHYARD.

<i>The Vintry.</i>		<i>Thames Street.</i>	
<i>Three Cranes</i> . . .	Dawson	Near unto Baynard's	
		Castle . . .	Bynneman
Between Paul's Wharf		<i>Catherine Wheel, near</i>	
and Baynard's Castle	East	the old <i>Swan</i> . . .	Creed
		S. Magnus's Corner . . .	Ballard
<i>Adling Street.</i>			
<i>White Bear, nigh Bay-</i>		<i>Old Fish Street.</i>	
<i>nard's Castle</i> . . .	Windet	<i>Fox, near the Swan</i> . . .	Wolfe

EAST OF PAUL'S CHURCHYARD.

<i>The Poultry.</i>		<i>Aldermanbury.</i>	
The Long Shop, adjoining		A little above the Con-	
S. Mildred's . . .	Alde	duit . . .	Braddock
The Middle Shop, adjoining			
S. Mildred's . . .	Wright	<i>Barbican.</i>	
		<i>Half Eagle and the</i>	
<i>Lombard Street.</i>		<i>Key</i> . . .	Charlewood
<i>Cradle</i> . . .	Spooner	<i>Fore Street, without Cripple Gate.</i>	
<i>Pope's Head</i> . . .	Hacket	[?] . . .	Jeffer

. It will be seen from this List that Paul's Churchyard was rather a place for Booksellers than Printers.

ARTICLE VII.

1600.—*Execution of Father Barkway, at Tyburn.*

The details of Father Garnet's execution* are sad enough ; but happily he escaped the hideous barbarities to which another wretched victim was subjected in the same year—escaped, but very narrowly.

"The 27th daye of Februarie, 1600, being the first Friday in Lent, Mr. Barkway was brought to Tyborne there to be executed. Cominge up into the carte in his blacke habite, his hooede beinge taken of, his heade beinge all shaven but for a rounde circle on the nether parte of his heade, and his other garment taken of also, beinge turned into his sherte, having a pare of hose of haere, most joyfully and smylingly looked up directly to the heavens, and blessed him with the signe of the crosse, sayinge, *In nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Amen.*"

He confessed that he was "one of the Blessed Societie after the holy Order of S. Benedicte."

"The carte beinge drawne awaye, in his goinge of from the carte" he said :

"Hæc est dies Domini, gaudeamus in ea.

And beinge presently cut downe, he stooode uprighte on his feete and struggled with the executioners cryinge, *Lord, Lord, Lord* ; and beinge holden by the strengthe of the executioners on the hurdle in dismembringe of him he cryed, *O God*, and so was he quartered."†

It is a disgrace to our civilization, to our Christianity, that such cases were by no means uncommon.

ARTICLE VIII.

1607.—*Paul's Walk.*

"Searcht the middle Ile in Pawles, and with three Elizabeth twelue-pences prest three knaues."—Decker and Webster's *Westward Hoe*, Act II., Scene 2.

* See *supra*, 141-144.

† *Historical Manuscripts Commission. Twelfth Report. Appendix. Part IV.* MSS. of the Duke of Rutland, preserved at Belvoir Castle, i. 369, 370.

"As it hath beene diuers times Acted by the Children of Paules."—4^o, London, 1607.

This may be compared with references in current literature of the day to the "Serving Man's Pillar," and to the hiring of men-servants in the nave of the Church.

"No place so sacred from such fops is barr'd,
Nor is Paul's Church more safe than Paul's churchyard ;
Nay, fly to altars ; there they'll talk you dead ;
For fools rush in where angels fear to tread."

POPE, *Essay on Criticism*, 623-6.

"Get thee a grey cloak and hat,
And walk in Paul's among thy cashier'd mates
As melancholy as the best."

LODOWICK BARREY, *Ram Alley*. 1611.

"Or if Death would take the paine
To go to Paul's one day,
To talke with such as there remaine
To walke, and not to pray ;
Of life they would take lasting lease
Though nere so great a fine :
What is not that but some would give
To set them up a shrine?"

Death's Dance, Ballad, temp. Elizabeth.

ARTICLE IX.

Circa 1625.—Hugh Peters pays a Visit to S. Faith's.

Hugh Peters was born in 1599 at Fowey in Cornwall. At fourteen he became a member of Jesus College, and then of Trinity, Cambridge, "but for lewdness and insolence was publicly whipped in the Regent's Walk there and expelled. We next find him in London as a buffoon, performing at booths, and in low comedy he was so proficient as to be a

fool or jester in Shakspeare's Company.* He was an apt mimic, and frequented the Churches to take off the manner of the preachers; and one Sunday entered by chance the little Church of *S. Faith's-under-Paul's*, 'that famous vault,' as Dugdale calls it, where all the books of the Stationers were burnt afterwards in the Great Fire. A famous preacher there, a Dr. Dee, so moved him that he broke with the theatre, and retired to his chamber near Fleet Conduit, to study hard for more than a year. He then frequented the great preachers, such as Gibbs, of Gray's Inn Chapel, whose *Bruised Reed* Richard Baxter declared had converted him to a serious life; John Davenport, Thomas Hooker, and others.

"Just at this moment he seems to have been in earnest. He was admitted into holy orders by Bishop Mountain, and became for some time lecturer at S. Sepulchre's, Old Bailey: but it was difficult to fix him anywhere. Peters himself pretends to have had at this Church six or seven thousand hearers: this cannot be true, as the Church would not hold them. He carried his buffoonery into the pulpit, we know, and that is always popular. He prayed once so insolently for the Queen that she might enter into the 'Goshen of safety,' that Laud silenced his ministry and committed him to prison. When released he fled" to Rotterdam, his gross and flagrant immoralities rendering it impossible for him to remain in London.

* For this article I am indebted to a Paper by Mr. C. A. Ward, *Notes and Queries*, Seventh Series, vol. iii. 121-4. The writer quotes from an account of Peter's life prefixed to *Tales and Jests of Mr. Hugh Peters*. 1660.

ARTICLE X.

London looke backe.—1625.

Here is a scarce Tract, of which a short extract is worthy of preservation :

London looke backe, at that yeare of yeares 1625. and looke forward, vpon this yeare 1630. *Written, not to Terrifie, But to Comfort.*

London. Printed by A. M. and are to bee sold by *Ed. Blackmoore* at the *Angell* in *Paules Churchyard*, 1630.

On the title is a skull wreathed with leaves.

Reader, to Feast thee with more variety, cast thine eye on these following Verses, in which is set downe a more full, and more lively Description of that Lamentable Time. [1625.]

This was that yeere of wonder, when this Land,
Was Ploughed vp into Graues, and graues did stand
From morne, till next morne, gaping still for more.
The Bells (like our lowde sinnes) ne're giuing ore.
Then, life look't pale, and sicklier then the Moone,
Whole Households, well i'th morne, lying dead at Noone.
Then sicknesse was of her owne face affrayde,
And frightening all, yet was her selfe dismayde ;
LONDON was great with childe, and with a fright
Shee fell in labour—But O pitious sight !
All in her Child bed Roome did nought but mourne,
For, those who were deliuer'd were still-borne,
The Citty fled the Citty, for those Bells
Which call'd the Church-man, rung his neighbors knells :
The Citty fled the Citty, and in feare,
That enemy shunn'd, who met her euery where,
The Citty so much of her Body lost,
That she appear'd, a gastly, headlesse Ghost :
Paules Organs (then) were passing-bells, to call
This day a Quirist to his Funerall
Who yesterday sate singing : Men did come
To morning Mattens, yet ere they got home,
Had Tokens sent them that they should no more
Heare Anthems there ; They were to goe before
Him, to whose name, those Anthems were all sung,
To instruments, which were by Angels strung.

By this little Picture, you may guesse, if that yeare of 1625 was not one of the worlds Climactericall yeares.

The lines scarcely need annotation. It will be sufficient to observe that 1625 was one of the plague years, in which it is stated that 35,417 persons died. The mortality from plague in previous years had not reached this number, as may be seen in the following table :*

1592 and 1593 there died	22,165.
1603 „ „	30,562.
1625 „ „	35,417.
1636 „ „	10,460.
1666 „ „	100,000.

The mortality in 1666 is said to have carried off a fifth part of the inhabitants.

* The Table is compiled from Stow's *Survey*, edited by Strype, ii. 564.



MISCELLANIES.

ARTICLES XI.—XIX.



CHAPTER XIV.

MISCELLANIES : ARTICLES XI.—XIX.

ARTICLE XI.

D. Lupton's "London and the Country Carbonadoed."

1632.

The full title of Lupton's book is as follows :

LONDON and the COVNTREY Carbonadoed* and Quartred into seuerall Characters. *By D. Lupton.* Hor. de Art. Poet. Breuis esse Laboro.

LONDON. Printed by Nicholas Okes, 1632.

The extract here printed will be found on pp. 9-14 of this odd little duodecimo :

"3. *Of S. Paules Church.*

Oh Domus Antiqua, a fit object for pittie, for Charity ; further Reported of then knowne, it is a

* *Carbonado* : A steak cut crossways for broiling.—Halliwell.

"If I come in his way willingly, let him make a *carbonado* of me."

—*Henry IV.*, part i., v. 3.

Carbonado (the verb) : To cut or hack.—Latham's *Johnson*.

"Draw, you rogue, or I'll so *carbonado* your shanks."—*King Lear*, ii. 2.

"Camel's flesh they sell in the buzzars, roasted upon scuets, or cut in mammocks and carbonadoed."—Sir T. Herbert, *Relation of some Years' Travels in Africa and the Great Asia*, 310.

compleat Body, for it hath the three dimensions of Longitude, Latitude, and Profundity, and as an excellent Ouer-plus famous for height. It was a maine poynt of Wisedome to ground Her vppon *Faith*, for Shee is the more likely to stand sure: the great Crosse in the middle, certainly hath bin, and is yet ominous to this Churches Reparation. *S. Paul* called the Church, the pillar of Truth, and surely had they not beene sound, they had fallen before this time. The Head of this Church hath beene twice troubled with a burning Feuer, and so the City to keep it from a third danger, let it stand without an head. I can but admire the Charity of former times, to Build such famous temples, when as these Ages cannot finde Repaire to them, but then the World was all Church, and now the Church is all World: then Charity went before, and exceeded Preaching; now there is much Preaching, nay more then euer, yet lesse Charity; our fore-Fathers aduanc'd the Church, and kept their Land: These times loose their Lands, and yet decay the Churches: I honor Antiquity so much the more, because it so much loued the Church. There is more Reason to suspect the precise Puritaine deuoyd of Charity, then the simple Ignorant fraught with good Workes. I thinke truly in this one point, the ends of their Actions were for good, and what they aimed at was Gods glory, and their owne happines. They builded Temples, but our degenerating Age can say, Come, let vs take them into our hands and possesse them: Amongst many others, this cannot be sayd to bee the Rarest, though the greatest. Puritaines are blowne out of

the Church with the loud voice of the Organs, their zealous Spirits cannot indure the Musicke, nor the multitude of the Surplices; because they are Relickes, (they say,) of *Romes* Superstition. Here is that famous place for Sermons, not by this Sect frequented, because of the Title, the *Crosse*. The middle Ile is much frequented at noone with a Company of *Hungarians*, not walking so much for Recreation, as neede; (and if any of these meete with a yonker, that hath his pockets well lined with siluer, they will relate to him the meaning of *Tycho Brache*, or the *North-Star*: and neuer leaue flattring him in his own words and sticke as close to him, as a Bur vppon a Trauailers cloake; and neuer leaue him til he and they haue saluted the greene Dragon, or the Swanne behind the Shambles, where I leaue them.) Well, there is some hope of Restoring this Church to its former glory; the great summes of money bequeathed, are some probabilities, and the charity of some good men already, in cloathing and Repayring the inside, is a great incouragement; and there is a speech that the Houses that are about it, must be puld down, for *Paules* Church is old enough to stand alone. Here are prayers often, but sinister suspition doubts more formall then zealous; they should not be worldly, because al Churchmen; there are none dumbe, for they can speake loud enough. I leaue it and them, wishing all might be amended."

ARTICLE XII.

On S. Gregory's Church by S. Paul's, circa 1635.

The following verses relate to the church of S. Gregory by S. Paul's, adjoining to the Lollards'

Tower of the Cathedral. "This church was repaired within and without, and, in every part richly and very worthily beautified, at the proper Cost and Charges of the Parishioners, in the Year of our Lord God 1631 and 1632. This sumptuous repair cost £2,000 and upwards."*

It was not rebuilt after the Great Fire, but was united to S. Mary Magdalene, Old Fish Street Hill.† S. Mary Magdalene Church was destroyed by fire on December 2, 1886.

Difficulties had arisen in respect of certain vaults which the parishioners of S. Gregory had caused to be dug in dangerous proximity to the church. An account of these discussions is to be found in the State Paper Office. Three extracts will suffice :

1632, January 13.

Order that Inigo Jones should again repair to S. Gregory's Church, and renew the former prohibition concerning the vault there building, and should report thereon to the Commissioners.—*Calendar of State Papers*, vol. 213.

1632, February 25.—Inigo Jones [to the Council].

The Parishioners of S. Gregory's near S. Paul's have made a new vault, and in so doing have "bared three settings off" from the south side of S. Paul's. The writer holds it not fit that the foundation of so great and noble a work should be underwrought.—*Ibid.*, vol. 211.

1632, March 7.

Order of the Commissioners for pious uses, that the new vaults of S. Gregory's should be shortened, and that neither the wall nor the tower of S. Paul's should be touched.—*Ibid.*, vol. 214.

Hereupon Dudley, third Lord North breaks out

* *Stow*, by Strype, edit. 1754, i. 708.

† Maitland, *London*, 1757, ii. 1105.

into verse. His lines, which were written about the year 1635, are found in a volume entitled :

A Forest promiscuous of Several Seasons productions. 4^o. London, 1659. [Anon : but by Dudley, third Lord North.]

St. Gregories Complaint, two hours work.
Ready to dye, though well I knew not why,
You that go by, hear me lament and cry,
And tell the King, who can do no ill thing,
'Twas no good ring under *S. Paul* his wing,
Gregory to spill, who hath stuck to him still,
And ne're did ill (alas) by his good will.

I can prescribe full many a Christmas tide,
How by his side, his *Peterman** I ride,
And what disgrace I now bring to this place,
I cannot guess, unless as faln from grace.
Nor can I see that a true cause should be,
In my degree, and consecrate Antiquity.

Happy *St. Faith*,† whom no mishap betray'th,
My lowly heighth, casts me, *St. Pauls* gloss saith,
But my great crime is, *Paul* I undermine :
Yet that's not mine, *St. Faith* take that for thine.
I will repair whatever I impair,
My cost and care shall make me thorow fair.

I am no *Wen*, except miscall'd by men,
Mole be I then. Moles, faces grace have been.
I am no stain, except you overstain,
And lay me plain, your good works to distain.
Good works to nurse, made good men ope their purse :
St. Gregories curse, may make *Pauls* fare the worse.

Make not them glad who wish *St. Gregory* sad,
For being the *Lad*, who first turn'd Tables had,
The Parish cost, and rich inside they boast,
Would not be lost, since God loves inside most ;
Though *Pauls* full age, nor sister needs, nor page,
'Tis no vantage.

* Nares and Halliwell both give the explanation *Peterman*, fisherman. Halliwell gives *Peter*, a portmanteau. Probably *Peterman* here signifies a servant.

† *S. Faith* in the Crypt of the Cathedral.

To cast old *Gregory* off in holy rage,
 My Verse breaks measure,
 Great Neighbour, Lord of Treasure,
 Assist my Rhymes, to those that rule the Times,
 And help if you can well,
 Whil'st I toll my own knell ;
 Yet I will not despair,
 Church ruins ill repair.
 My Cæsar right inform'd,
 My will shall be conform'd.
 His sentence final be my fate,
 To stand, or to lie desolate :
 Now do not blame my Verse, but know it
 St. *Gregory* never was a Poet ;
 Many a one hath reese by Rhyme,
 O might I so my fall decline.

St. Gregory to St. Paul.

Mighty St. *Paul*, help *Gregories* desire,
 And scorn me not, though none of thy great Quire,
 Take heed a second time of Heaven's fire,
 In falling late thou now my fall conspire.
 Without thy Buttresses, thou canst not stand,
 Accept of me for such, and thy command
 Shall rule me still, though small, yet near at hand,
 And next to thee the greatest in the Land.
 A shrub offendeth not a lofty tree,
 An under Oratory let me be :
 Thou partly standest by my Charity :
 For that and Gods sake then, Oh pitty me.
 My Bells and Western Steeple I will lend
 To thee that want'st them both, I'll be thy Friend,
 And stop their mouths, who ill invectives send
 Against thy state and wayes, and so I end,
 Sick, but not dead, and dying, but not sick.

About 1635.

ARTICLE XIII.

Dr. Richard Stuart, "Dean of S. Paul's," 1641.

Three little volumes bear the name of Dr. Richard Stuart, as Dean of S. Paul's :

1. *Catholique Divinity, &c.* 12°. London. 1657.

2. Three Sermons preached by the Reverend, and Learned, Dr. Richard Stuart, Dean of S. Pauls, afterwards Dean of Westminster, and Clerk of the Closet to the late King Charles. . . . The Second Edition Corrected and Amended. 12°. London. 1658.

3. Trias Sacra, a Second Ternary of Sermons preached, Being the last (and best) Monuments that are likely to be made publique, of that most learned, pious, and eminent Dr. Richard Stuart, Dean of S. Paul's, etc. 12°. London. 1659.

I have not met with any record of his name or acts amongst the archives of S. Paul's, nor is he usually included in the list of Deans. He was confirmed as Dean by the King in 1641, according to Dr. Bliss:*

1641. 21 Mar. Ric. Steward, L.L.D, confirmatus fuit in Decan. S. Pauli per promotionem Tho. Winniffe in ep. Linc. *Reg. London.* KENNET.

Probably Dean Stanley is correct in saying† that he “never took possession of the Deanery, and died in exile at Paris, where he was buried in a Protestant cemetery near S. Germain des Prés.” His epitaph, from the inner margin of Bp. Kennet's *Register*, 1728, fol. 261, is printed in *Notes and Queries*.‡

A portrait of Dean Stuart, or Steward,§ drawn by G. P. Harding, and engraved by J. Stow from the original picture at Eton College, gives the following long list of his preferments:

Richard Steward, D.D.

Born at Pateshull, Northamptonshire; educated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, 1608; Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, 1613; Prebendary of Worcester Cathedral 1628, Prebendary of Salisbury Cathedral 1628,

* *Athen., Oxon.*, iii. 296, note 9.

† *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, third edit., 513.

‡ *Notes and Queries*, Sixth Series, xi., 75. See also Appendix E.

§ Another portrait of Dean Steward is prefixed to a copy of his book, *The English Case: A Court Sermon at Paris*. 12°. London. 1659.

Dean of Chichester 1634, and Clerk of the Closet ; Prebendary of Westminster 1638, Provost of Eton 1640, Dean of St. Paul's 1641, Dean of Westminster 1644. Died at Paris Nov. 14th, 1651, aged 68. Buried at S. Germain's.

A white ribbon with an angel of gold, as seen in the portrait, was accustomed to be placed by the sovereign round the necks of those who were touched for the king's evil (*vide* Evelyn's *Memoirs*, i. 311).

ARTICLE XIV.

The Soldiers in S. Paul's during the Interregnum, 1649.

The grossness and profanity of the following passage ought perhaps to have excluded it from this collection, and yet the truth must be told. Unhappily the story does not stand alone.

At Lichfield, the Parliamentary soldiers "demolished all the monuments, pulled down the curious carved work, battered in pieces the costly windows, and destroyed the evidences and records. They stabled their horses in the body of the Church, kept courts of guard in the cross aisle, broke up the pavement, and polluted the choir with their excrement: every day hunting a cat with hounds through the church, and delighting themselves with the echo from the goodly vaulted roofs. And, to add to their wickedness, they brought a calf into it, carried it to the font, sprinkled it with water, and gave it a name in scorn and derision of that Holy Sacrament of Baptism."* The injury done to the Cathedral was estimated at £14,000.

At S. Paul's they exhibited still greater profanity.

* Shaw's *Staffordshire*, i. 242-3, quoted in Walcott's *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals*, second edition, 70.

Some very repulsive details are to be found in a scarce little quarto tract of four leaves, entitled :

Newes from Powles, Or the New Reformation of the Army : with a true Relation of a Covlt that was foaled in the Cathedrall Church of St. *Paul* in *London*, and how it was Publiquely *Baptized* by *Paul Hobsons* souldiers, one of them p.....g in his Helmet, and sprinkling it in the Name of the Father, Son, and holy Ghost ; and the Name (because a bald Coult) was called *Baal-Rex*.

With a Catalogue of the Blasphemies, Murders, Cheats, Lies and Juglings of some of the *Independent Party*.

Printed in the year 1649.

Here is the passage relating to S. Paul's :

"You may see in that famous Cathedrall of St. *Paul*, once sacred to the Worship of God, now made a stable for horses, and a jakes for the worser beasts their masters, whose religion is Rebellion, whose piety is to blaspheme God, Revile and despise the King, and make a mock at the Commandements, and a jeere at the Sacraments, as may appear by their worse then heathennish actions ; that the very rehearsall of their abominable Blasphemy adds paleness to my paper, and blackness to my Inke, and infuseth a trembling into my palsie-shaken hand : it seems that this last week, one of their Mares foaling in the Church, the souldiers took upon them to Baptize the Colt, and taking one *Harwes* and *Cobitt*, made them stand for the Godfathers, and one *Rachell Barber* (one of their Ammunition bagages) for the godmother ; whereupon one of them making his Cloak into the fashion of a Canonickall Gowne, took one of his fellowes Head-pieces, who was absent, p.....d therein, and (most impiously, and profanely) began to scoffeas followeth."

—Page 5.

In a scarce tract, *The True Informer*,* the writer draws a sad picture of the state of religion :

"Me thinks I see *Religion* in torne ragged weeds, and with slubber'd eyes sitting upon *Weeping-Crosse*, and wringing her hands, to see her chieftest Temple (*Pauls Church*) where God Almighty was us'd to be serv'd constantly thrice a day, and was the Rendezvouz, and as it were the Mother Church, standing open to receive all commers and strangers, to be now shut up, and made only a thorow-fare for Porters ; to see those scaffolds, the expence of so many thousand pounds to lye a rotting ; to see her chieftest *lights* like to be extinguished ; to see her famous learned

* Oxford. Printed by Leonard Lichfield, Printer to the Vniversitie. 1643. Page 39.

Divines dragg'd to prison, and utterly depriv'd of the benefit of the Common Law, their inheritance : Me thinks, I say, I see *Religion* packing up, and preparing to leave this Island quite, crying out, that this is a Countrey fitter for *Atheists* than *Christians* to live in, for God Almighty is here made the greatest *Malignant*, in regard his House is plunder'd more than any : There is no Court left to reforme heresie, no Court to punish any Church Officer, & to make him attend his Cure, no Court to punish fornication, adulterie, or incest : Mee thinks I heare *Her* cry out against these her Grand *Reformers* (or *Refiners* rather) that they have put division 'twixt all degrees of persons."

ARTICLE XV.

Two Quaker Women visit the Cathedral, 1662.

Here is a curious piece of Quaker literature, from which a single extract will suffice :

A Brief Relation of the Persecutions and Cruelties that have been acted upon the People called QUAKERS in and about the City of London, since the beginning of the 7th Month last, til the present time. With a general Relation of Affairs, signifying the state of the people through the Land. London, Printed in the Year 1662.

"About the 7th day of the month [*i.e.*, the seventh month] two Women were committed to Old *Bridewel*, for going into Pauls in the time of their worship ; the one of them being moved to go at that very time into that place vvith her face made black, and her hair dovvn vvith blood poured in it, vvich run dovvn upon her sackcloth vvich she had on, and she poured also some blood dovvn upon the Altar, and spoke some vvords, and another Woman being moved to go along vvith her, they vvere both taken avvay to *Bridewel*, vvhere they remain to this day, and vvere not yet tried for any fact, nor any evil yet justly laid to their charge."—Page 5.

A few days before, a Friend was "moved to go through the Fair [at Smithfield], naked, with a pan on his head full of fire and brimstone . . . for which some rude people did abuse him much."

ARTICLE XVI.

Paul's Cross : Epigram by John Owen, 1678.

Epigrammatum Joan. Oweni, Editio postrema. Wratislaviæ, 1678, p. 92. *Liber Unus*, No. 136.

Paules Crosse,* and the Crosse in Cheape.

Aurea cur Petro posita est crux, plumbea Paullo?
Paulinam decorant Aurea verba crucem.

ARTICLE XVII.

Visit of Queen Anne to S. Paul's, December 31, 1706.

A detailed account of this Royal visit to the Cathedral will be found in Dugdale.† The occasion was that of a special thanksgiving for the victories of the Duke of Marlborough in Brabant, and for other successes.

The sermon was preached by George Stanhope, D.D., Dean of Canterbury, from the text, Deut. xxxiii. 29.

The short statement here printed is transcribed from a very scarce plate, which gives a view of the pageant in a somewhat unusual manner. The engraving presents a *longitudinal* section of the choir, and exhibits the whole of the south side, together with half the altar (on which stands a lighted candle in a lofty candlestick‡), and the greater part of the west end. The curious screens covering the upper parts of the great diapasons of the organ are very well shown, and the dresses of the assembled magnates displayed with no small ability.

Dec: 31st 1706.

A Prospect of the Choir of the Cathedral Church of St. PAUL, on the General Thanksgiving, the 31st of Decem^r. 1706. Her Majesty and both Houses of Parliament present.

* E regione Templi D. Petri.

† *History of S. Paul's*, 446, 447.

‡ The procession started from S. James's Palace at eleven o'clock in the morning.

The Queen's most Excellent Majesty was seated in an Armed Chair, upon the Throne, and an other Armed Chair was placed on her Left Hand, for his Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark, who (being Indisposed) was not present : Behind which Chairs were Stools, whereon sate her Grace the Dutchess of Marlborough, Grome of the Stole and the Right Hon^{ble} the Lady Fretcheville, Lady of the Bed-Chamber in Waiting. The Captain of the First Troop of Guards being then upon Duty. The Lord Chamberlain of Her Majestys Household and the Vice Chamberlain, as also the Clerk of the Closet or Chaplain in Waiting, likewise attending all on y^e Throne.

The Ladies of the Bed-Chamber, in the Seats before the Stalls on the South Side, and the Maids of Honor, and Her Majesty's Bed-Chamber Women below them.

Garter Principal King of Arms, with the other Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms. The Serjeants at Arms with their Maces, and the Gentlemen Pensioners, with their Axes, waited on either side of the Throne : And behind stood the Yeomen of the Guard with their Partisans.

The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, The Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, The Lord Archbishop of York, The Great Officers of State, viz., The Lord Treasurer, Lord President of the Council and the Lord Privy Seal ; The Lord Steward of the Household : And the other Dukes, &c. Earls, Viscounts, Bishops and Barons sate in y^e Body of the Choir, after the same manner as they do in y^e House of Peers : The Judges & Masters in Chancery being placed as usual.

The Speaker of the House of Commons sate in the Lord Mayors Seat on the North Side, And the Members in the Stalls on either Hand, as well as in the Stalls on the South Side, and in the Galleries at Top on both Sides of the Choir. The Peeresses were placed at y^e West End of y^e Middle Gallery on y^e South Side. And the Foreign Ministers with thir Ladies filled y^e Places prepared for them in y^e Middle Gallery on y^e North Side. At y^e East End of that Gallery were seated y^e Lady Mayoress & Aldermen's Ladies. And at y^e East End of y^e Middle Gallery on the South Side sate y^e Lord Mayor Aldermen, Recorder & Sheriffs. The Residentiaries & Prebendaries were seated on Chairs wth in y^e Rails of y^e Alter, except such as officiated in reading Prayers. And without the Rails on Forms at both sides sate other Reverend and Eminent Divines. The Choir and other Musitians filled the Organ Gallery and y^e Returns of the Galleries adjacent on either Side.

ROB^T. TREVITT. Fecit.

ARTICLE XVIII.

On a Table, once the Sounding-Board of S. Paul's Cathedral.

“Written extempore at the New River Head, September 6, 1815, by the Rev. Richard Roberts, brother of Dr. Roberts, Provost of Eton :

In Paul's proud dome, the wonder of the age,
I hung, a shield, o'er many a mitred sage,
Heard Heaven's inspired Priests address the throng,
And gave loud echo to their sacred song.
Tables are turned ; I bent beneath the storm
Altered my habits yet preserved my form^d ;
An excommunicated branch you see,
Judg'd as the fruit of no good yielding tree.
Oh ! how unlike great Bishops' my vocation ;
They nobly soar, I suffer, by translation.
And yet, to leave my pious functions loath,
Torn from the Church I stick unto the cloth ;
Still o'er my head, though humbled in my place,
The hungry Parson mutters hasty grace ;
And benedictions, if not holy zeal
Begin and end with every friendly meal.

The sounding-board* was sold at a public auction, with other materials, in September, 1803, and bought and converted into a dining-table by Robert Mylne, F.R.S., Surveyor and Paymaster to S. Paul's Cathedral, and is now in the possession of Robert W. Mylne, F.R.S., nephew of the late Rev. R. Roberts, author of the above lines.”

A Catalogue of a Large Quantity of Marble, Stone, Iron Work, Wainscoting, Oak and Fir Quartering, and other Articles useful in

* From a printed paper preserved in the Library. The sounding-board is, no doubt, that shown in many views of the interior of the Choir.

Building, &c. Lying in the Workman's Yard in the South Side of S. Pauls Cathedral; which will be sold by auction by Mr. Winstanley, on the Premises, on the — day of September, 1803, at Eleven o'clock.

Lot 9 is the sounding-board of a pulpit and a quantity of carved wainscoting.

ARTICLE XIX.

The Fee of Twopence for Admission to S. Paul's,
1843-51.

The following official document reads oddly enough to-day, when the doors of the Cathedral are open all day and every day, from morn to dewy eve. The last clause will, it is hoped, delight the reader as much as it does the editor:

7 Aug., 1843. HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Objections have at various times been made to the payment of the fee of 2d. for admission into S. Paul's, but whenever the subject has been considered, the continuance of this small payment has been determined to be indispensably necessary for preventing the serious evils which would assuredly attend the free and unrestrained admission of a London population into a sacred edifice situated in the heart of the city, and passed every day by many thousands of people: for which salutary purpose it was originally established.

CHRIS^R. HODGSON,
Chapter Clerk.

The fee of twopence for admission to the Cathedral ceased on May 1, 1851, the day of the opening of the Great Exhibition.



APPENDIX.



APPENDIX A.*

*The ordre for the obsequies to be holden in Powles church
for the late Emperor ferdinandus.*

ON THE FIRST DAYE AT AFTER NOONE.

The first proclamacōn of the herald.

A sentence before generall confession.

Exhortacōn.

The generall confessiōn with the praier followinge.

The lords praier plainelie & distinctlie.

Lord open thou my lippes, etc.

Psalmes.

4. *Cum invocarem.*

13. *Vsquequo dñe.*

27. *Dñs illuminatio.*

32. *Beati quorum.*

90. *Dñe refugm̄.*

The first lesson, 1 Cor. 15.

Christe is risen from the dead, etc.

Certen Anthemes, viz. :

I am the resurreccōn and the lief.

I know my redemer livethe, etc.

We brought nothing into the world, etc.

} cātu solemnī.

* See *supra*, p. 83. This article is taken from the original entry in Shawler's *Note-Book*, folios 16, 17.

The second lesson, viz. :

The whole 44 chapter of eccliāsticus.

Benedictus in some sad square.

The second proclamacōn of the herald.

Then followethe the Crede plainelie and distinctlie with the suffrages, viz. :

Lord haue m'eye vpon vs, etc.

Collects 4.

O mercifull god, etc., as at buriall.

for the quene, *O lord our hevenlie father*, etc.

for the peace, *O god from whom*, etc.

Lighten our darkenes, etc.

Then followethe the antheme, viz. :

Man that is borne of a woman, etc., to be song in a square as at buriall.

postremo.

The peace of god, etc.

The third proclamacōn of the herald.

finis.

THE SECOND DAY BEFORE NOONE.

The generall confession.

Lord open thou my lippes, etc.

Psalmes.

4 octonaries of the 119 psalme, viz. :

Beati imaculati.

The Antheme, viz. :

Man that is borne of a woman, etc., as before.

The Letanye.

The Sermone.

Preparacōn to comōne praiers.

The lords praier. Collecte.

The tenne comāundements.

2 collects. 1. ad placitū. 2. pro Regina.

The epistle, viz. :

We will not that you be ignoraunt, 1 Thess. 4.

The gospell, viz. :

Omne quod dat, etc., John 6.

I beleve in one god, etc.

Duringe the time of offringe the whole quire shall singe	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{Laye not vp} \\ \textit{geve almes} \\ \textit{be mercifull} \end{array} \right\}$	Tob. 4.
--	---	---------

The generall praier, viz. :

Let vs praye for the whole state of christs church.

The Antheme, viz. :

Ne reminiscaris, etc.

The peace of god, etc.

finis.

Endorsed

*The order for the Obsequies holden in Powles
Church for the Emperour fferdenandus.*

NOTE.

The reader will observe the remarkable expressions used in the text at p. 292.

Benedictus in some sad square,

Man that is born of a woman, etc., to be song in a square as at buriall.

I have consulted some of the best authorities on ancient ecclesiastical music, but I am not able to offer any explanation of the phrase which at all satisfies my own mind.



APPENDIX B.*

*ffees due to all the officers and members of Powles for the
buriall of the Lo : Keeper.†*

The Charges of the buriall in Paules :

The breking of the grounde vsuallie is ... *vli. iijs. xd.*

* See *supra*, p. 90.

† Shawler, *Note-Book*, folio 4.

To the making of the grave & the pavyng*				
of the same agayne	...	...	...	x.s.
To the foure residentiaries†	...	...	...	iiij℥.
To everie of the other p'bendaries beyng				
present,‡ vjs. viij℥.	It is likly ther wyll syx			
or seaven present—the whole about	...			xls.
xij Peticañons to eu'i one vs. in all	...	...	...	iiij℥.
vj vicars to eu'i one iiij.s. in all	...	...	...	xxiiij.s.
x choristers eu'i one ijs. vj℥. in all	...	...	...	xxvs.
The Pistler	...	...	...	iiij.s.
iiij Virgers eu'i one ijs. in y ^e whole	...	...	...	vij.s.
who doo besides of custome clayme gownes				
for that they must take the greatest of all				
others.§				
To the Kep' of the vestrie	...	...	...	iijs. iiij℥.
ij belringers eu'i one xx℥.	...	...	...	iijs. iiij℥.
To the men for the Knill [or] ringing usually				xiijs. iiij℥.
summa totalis||	...	...	...	xvij℥. xvijs. xd.
Thus doo the officers of o ^r churche declare vnto vs to haue				
bene the vse of late, at burials in Pauls churche aboue				
the stepps : and that it was of olde muche more.¶				

ALEX. NOWELL.

J. N.

J. WALKER.

Endorsement.

To the right woorshyppfull S^r Nicolas Bacon, knight, and other
the exeq-tors of my L. Kep'.

* Altered from *leadinge* to *pavinge* by Dean Nowell.

† The passage originally stood, "To Mr. Deane and iiij residentiaries."

‡ Originally "vj prebendaries besides the residentiaries are like to be
there vjs. viij^d. and thus xls."

§ Inserted by Dean Nowell.

|| The actual *summa totalis* is £17 14s. 10d.

¶ Inserted by Dean Nowell.



APPENDIX C.*

*A survaye made by ye thre vargars of Poulls, Myhell
Shawlar, Robarte Lanckthorne, & Rycharde Gweyen,
ye ix of Novembar, 1584, accompaned with on of
the busshope of Lovndons men by hym apoynted, &
on John Kydde, a plvmar, as folloeth :*

Iarne.—Itm. we finde remayneng in the storehovsse in y ^e sovth syde of y ^e chirch barres and peses of iarne, wayeng	xxviic. & a hallf.
Iarne Tovlls.—Itm. more in Iarn tovlls, as small Crowes, chissells, pickacses, longe & shorte pinnes, framenge pinnes, houckes, hovppes, bolltes, clampes for wyndos and for lockes, wayenge all	viiic. & a hallf.
Itm. more in the same iiij drokes with pvlls of brasse & iij meddell shevars of brasse & v small shevars of brasse, ij cokens of brasse, & ij large Iarne shevars.	
bell mettell.—Itm. more in bell mettell there wayeng	viiijc. & a hallf.
leade.—Itm. more in leade there waynge	iiijc. q.
Itm. more in leade myxte with glas ...	ijc.
Itm. more in latten plates & brasse wayeng	j ^c .
wayghtes.—Itm. more in skalle wayghtes	iiijc. 3q.
In the ovllde plumyre on y ^e sovth Ille :	
leade.—Itm. we finde remayneng in leade thare wayeng	iiijc. & a hallf.
Itm. we finde in sindars by estemacion	ivc.

* See *supra*, p. 93. Shawler, *Note-Book*

tm. more in skall wayghtes thare ... vijc. vijli.
 In the new plumyre :
 leade.—Itm. in the new plumyre we finde
 no leade.
 timbar.—Itm. we finde lefte in timbar
 mesvred by Robarte Wallkar &
 Thomas Finche carpentars in divars
 places of y^e chirch good & bade ... xvij lodes xxviiij fovtt.
 Itm. we finde ij gibbates standinge fur-
 nyshte with cabells & all thinges
 nessesary theon in y^e ovllde plumyre
 & y^e othar in y^e new.
 Itm. we finde ij ginnes covmplete & iij
 vnparfeckte.
 Itm. we finde iij mastes xxx fovtt longe
 a pece.
 Itm. we finde viij roppes v gratte & iij
 small.
 Itm. ij longe laddars.
 Itm. we finde the leade on y^e toppe of
 y^e stepell.
 Itm. we finde in the chappell ovar
 agaynste y^e clockhovsse timbar
 planckes bovrdes ovllde timbar &
 othar thinges for skaffolyng xv lodes
 & battar.
 My lorde of Lovndon hath had of leade
 ovtt of y^e ovllde plvmyre to repare the
 chyrch, in wayght xiiijc.
 More hys carpentar hath ocvpied abovtt
 makynge & reparinge the chirch dores
 & frames for the wyndos of y^e tymbar v lodes & x fovtte.
 Afftar the death of John Oar we vndarstande y^t the shete of
 leade wayeng iijc. lefte in the new plvmyre was thare saffe
 remayneng butt synsse convayed awaye we kno nott by whome.
 All so we finde lackynge of y^e timbar ix lodes & whych waye it
 is gon we cannot larne.



APPENDIX D.*

Payments to the Children of Pauls.

1563, Jan. 10.—Paid Sebastian Westcott, Master of the Children of Pauls	£ s. d. 6 13 4
1565, Jan. 18.—Paid ditto, for a play on Christ- mas last	6 13 4
1567, Jan. 12.—Paid ditto, for two plays on Christmas last... ..	13 6 8
1573, Jan. 12.—Paid ditto, for a play on New Years day last	6 13 4
1574, Jan. 10.—Paid ditto, for a play at Christmas last	6 13 4
1576, Jan. 7.—Paid ditto, for a play at Twelfth day last	10 0 0
1577, Jan. 20.—Paid the children of Pauls for a play in Christmas holy days last	6 13 4
1577, Feb. 20.—Paid the Master of the Children of Pauls	6 13 4
and by way of reward, 5 marks. and by way of reward, £2 10s. <i>od.</i> to each of them	5 0 0
1579, Jan. 16.—Paid the children of Pauls ... (<i>sum not stated</i>)	
1580, Jan. 25.—Paid the Master & children of Pauls	10 0 0
1581, Jan. 30.—Paid the Master of the children of Pauls for a play on Twelfth day... ..	10 0 0
1582, April 24.—Paid the children of Pauls for a play on S. Stephen's Day last	10 0 0
1588, April 9.—Paid Thomas Giles, Master of the children of Pauls, for a play on Shrove Sunday... ..	10 0 0
1589, March 23.—Paid Thomas Giles for sundry plays in the Christmas holy days ...	30 0 0
1590, March 10.—Paid the Master of the Chil-	

* See *supra*, p. 112.

dren of Pauls for three plays on Sunday after Christmas Day, New Years Day, and Twelfth Day	20	0	0
and by way of reward	10	0	0
1601, June 24.—Paid Edward Piers, Master of the children of Pauls, for a play on New Years day last... ..	20	marks.	
and by way of reward	5	marks.	

The above details are selected from Geo. Chalmers' *Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare Papers*, etc., pp. 360-63. He cites as his authority the *Council Registers*.

Probably the outlay on such entertainments must have increased rather than diminished. Much as the Virgin Queen loved these plays, "the new King (James I.) saw five times as many plays in a year as Queen Elizabeth was accustomed to see" (Cunningham's *Revels*, xxxiv.).



APPENDIX E.*

Epitaph of Dean Stuart or Steward.

"These are the words of his Inscription neer the place where he was interred in France.

Memoriæ RICHARDI STEWARD, Decani Westmonaster, et Sacelli Regii in Anglia.

Qui hoc tantum Monumento suo inscribi voluit Epitaphium.

Hic jacet R. STEWARD, qui assidue oravit pro pace Ecclesiæ.

Obiit 14. Novemb. 1652. Ætat. LVIII."

* Printed at the close of the Preface to Dean Steward's *The English Case exactly set down by Hezekiah's Reformation in a Court Sermon at Paris*. 12°. London, 1659. See *supra*, p. 281.



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